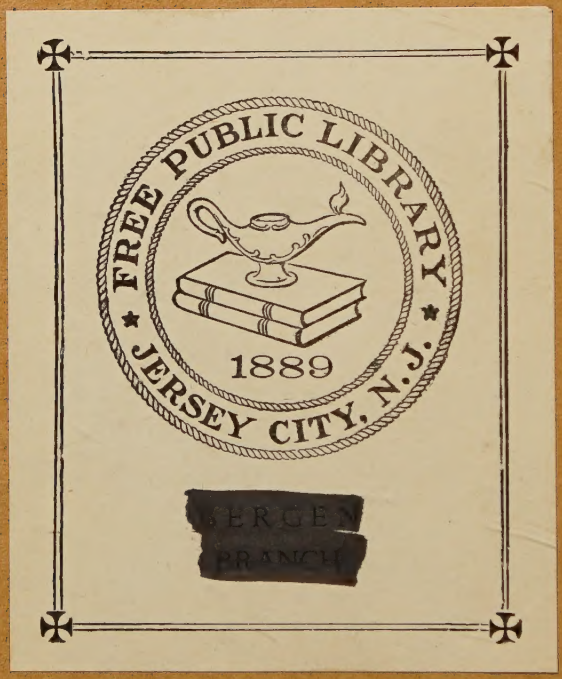
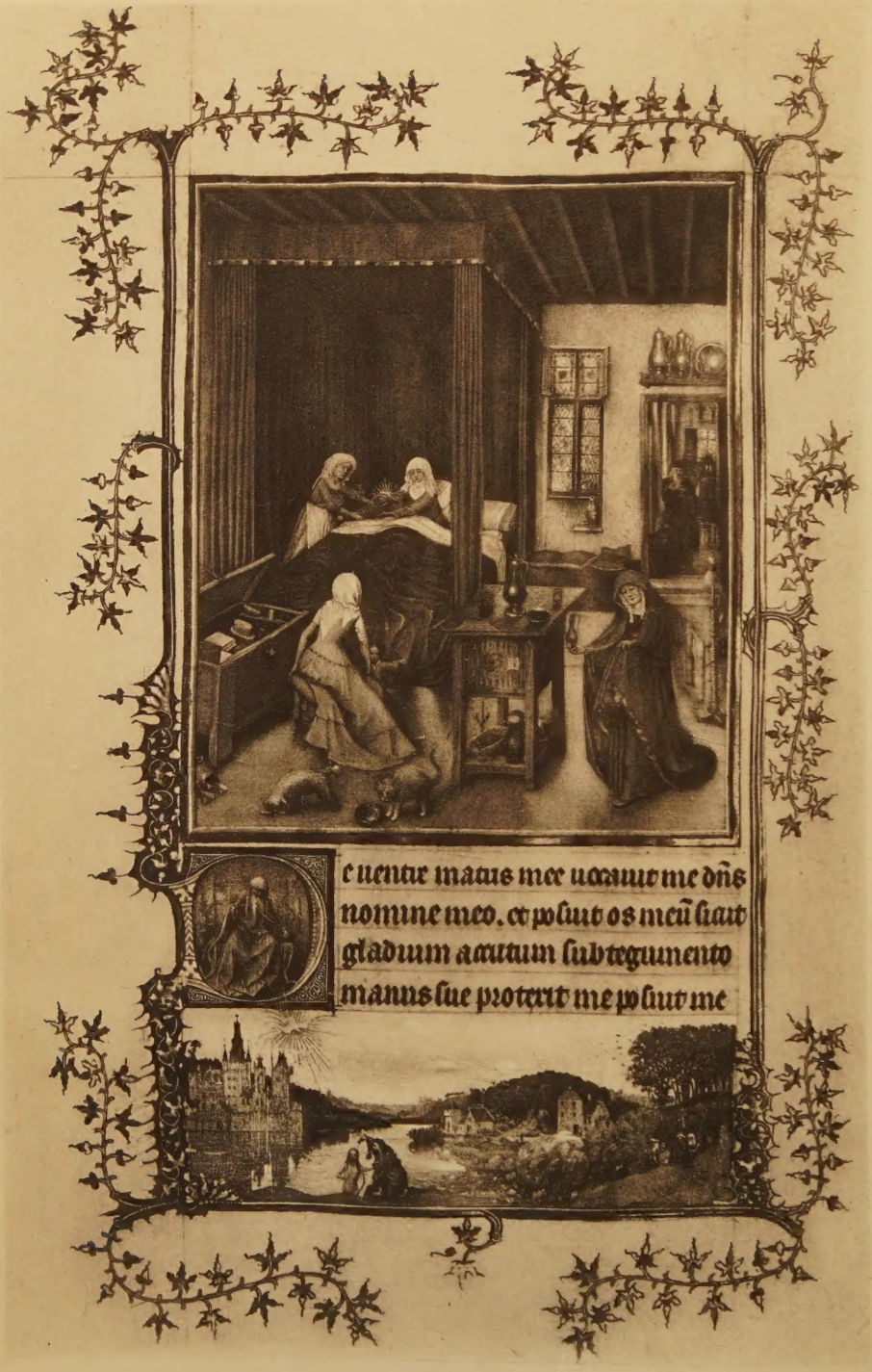
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THE VAN EYCKS AND THEIR FOLLOWERS

BY SIR MARTIN CONWAY, M.P.

FORMERLY ROSCOE PROFESSOR OF ART AT LIVERPOOL AND
SLADE PROFESSOR OF ART AT CAMBRIDGE

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PREFACE

This book, which now finally passes out of my hands, has not taken its intended form owing to the circumstances of the day. The text was written to accompany a much larger series of illustrations than it is now economically possible to issue at a price which the contemplated reader would be willing to pay. When the reproduction of a picture is under the eyes of a reader description is superfluous, nor is it necessary to indicate at length points of resemblance between two works of art when photographs of them can be directly composed. Lack of intended illustration may render a few passages somewhat obscure. Such illustrations as we are enabled to supply have been chosen carefully. Well-known pictures have seldom been selected for reproduction. Works difficult of access have been preferred to the well-known works of the famous.

It is to be regretted that the present ownership of many of the pictures cited is not recorded. Collections are constantly being dispersed at auction. A continual stream of works of art crosses the Atlantic and each finds some new home, known only to dealers and American art-lovers. It is thus not possible, at any rate for me, to indicate the whereabouts of a considerable proportion of the pictures which I have studied in loan-exhibitions or in their old homes on this side of the ocean.

One last word of thanks and remembrance may be added. The domain of art and of the lovers of art should be a kindly and a generous province. The love of any special kind of art forms a pleasant link between its lovers. Study of the pictures dealt with in this volume has brought me many friends, most of them far more

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gifted and informed than is the present writer. It is of them I am thinking while writing these words. To each I send a salutation. When they read this book they may perhaps here and there recognize a personal message, always intended to be a kind one. To how many of them I owe hearty thanks for what they have taught me!

But most of all do I owe recognition and regard to one who has been by my side throughout all the years of my labours, and has shared with me their pleasures, their anxieties, and their toil. Together we have loved the art of the past. Together we have learned to open our hearts ever more widely to its beauties. In this atmosphere of sympathy, and largely because of it, I have been able to accomplish whatever of good there may be in this and other works that have come from my hand. Therefore to my wife, as in duty and affection bound, I dedicate this book.

MARTIN CONWAY.

ALLINGTON CASTLE, NEAR MAIDSTONE.
September 16, 1921.

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INTRODUCTION

Upward of thirty years ago I delivered, as Professor of Art at Liverpool, a set of lectures on the Early Flemish Painters—the Van Eycks and their followers—which were presently revised and published in a volume. It bears the date 1887, but was actually issued in the preceding year. The small number of persons who, in those days, were interested in such matters received with approval this modest volume. It is still a great pleasure to me to recall the kind letter it elicited from my beloved friend Professor John Ruskin. If I do myself the honour to print it here, I can surely at this date escape the accusation of using it for the purposes of advertisement.

"Brantwood,
Coniston, Lancashire.
15*th Nov.*, 1886.

"Dear Conway,

"I am altogether and all round delighted with your book. The plates are perfection. The text seems to me as right as right can be, and deeply interesting. The little golden block on cover is as beautiful as old work.

"Could your binder do a dozen for me in strong morocco or in white vellum? I'll pay for the strongest and prettiest binding you can devise with him, for presentation copies to schools.

"Ever your entirely pleased and affectionate,

"J. R."

I have often been asked to reprint *Early Flemish Artists*, but it was impossible honestly to do so, the book being hopelessly out of date. The whole subject has been minutely studied in the last thirty years; many new discoveries have been made, much that was accepted has been disproved, so that scarcely a line of the original

can stand. To reissue the book meant to rewrite it, and for that I had neither time nor inclination. The war, however, changed many things. It entirely revolutionized the life of students who were too old to serve the country in any of the ways open to the young and the middle-aged. By greatly reducing the output of research it gave time for reflection and revision. The passing months did not bring that fresh harvest of observations and discoveries which the brief intervals between publications used scarcely to be long enough to absorb. It was impossible in war-time to travel for research. Pending questions that needed a visit to this or that foreign museum for their solution had to hang up till the war was over. There was time, therefore, to go back over old ground and to reconsider matters of former interest. The immense tragedy of Belgium naturally drew the mind of anyone who had known her cities and been caught by the spell of her ancient art to retrace the memory of happier days. No one could say how many of the treasures that once seemed so safely housed and so carefully tended might not have been wrenched from their places of honour or destroyed. A dark pall of mystery enveloped their fate at the time when I was writing this book, and added a pathetic element to a subject always rich with the accumulated interests converging upon precious objects which have passed through centuries of peril.

Thus, being at that time unemployable in war-work, I was led in the long months of suspense and anxiety to turn for relief to my old friends, who lie so quietly there, treasured up in the silent and changeless past—the great mediæval painters of the provinces which now form Belgium, Holland, and a part of France. I turned over my collection of photographs, looked up my notes, re-read my old book, and thus occupied, found myself beginning, almost before I knew it, the revision of that antiquated text. More than revision, however, proved to be necessary; the whole had to be rewritten, not even on the old lines, for both the subject and the writer had changed. Current thoughts will not fit into obsolete

sentences; opinions which once seemed sound, seemed sound no longer. Still, the purpose of this new work and that old one is the same—not to record and co-ordinate all the as yet discovered facts about painters and pictures, nor even to discuss all the works of any artist, however great, nor necessarily any work of every identified artist of the period, however small; but to open the way for the ordinary intelligent person to enter into this particular domain of art, and there orient himself and find a solution of such difficulties as are to be encountered on the threshold.

Three names are specially memorable in connexion with fruitful and efficient research into the history of our school: those of Mr. W. H. James Weale, Dr. Friedländer, and Professor G. Hulin de Loo. The first mentioned was the founder of the study. More than half a century ago, when resident at Bruges, he began to decipher the neglected archives of that ancient city, the home of so many artists in the fifteenth century. Several years of such work, and the scholarly publication of his discoveries from time to time, laid a solid foundation upon which later students have been able to build. It has been given to few men, as it was to him, to see his own excellent pioneer work ably carried forward to such remarkable results as till recently he lived to enjoy. Dr. Friedländer and Professor Hulin, to name only the two most eminent of the later generation of workers, have had advantages which their predecessors did not possess. They have at their disposal the invaluable aid of photography, and they have lived in days when the whole apparatus of study has been elaborated: museum-catalogues, sale-catalogues, specialist magazines, rapid and easy means of travel and communication, as well as the valuable organizations which great museums now provide. With such advantages and the co-operation of numerous efficient workers along the same or parallel lines, with archives searched and published by experts in all the old countries, it is not surprising that rapid and continuous progress was made in a study so fostered. Both the leading scholars I have named are in possession of a mass of as yet largely

unpublished material which they have laboriously brought together, sifted, and are in continual process of co-ordinating. In due season we may look to both of them to give to the world more or less encyclopædic works on a subject which is now large enough for the life-work of an individual. Since these words were written Dr. Friedländer has published (in part re-published) a suggestive series of essays on the principal artists discussed in the following pages. The book is entitled *Von Eyck bis Bruegel.* It is not, however, the comprehensive work we still look for from him. Both he and Hulin have succeeded in isolating, from the mass of existing pictures whose authorship had been forgotten, groups of works which they are able to assign with assurance to the hands of separate though unidentified artists. In a few cases even the name of the artist has been revealed, and an outline drawn of the cardinal dates and places of his activity. The notebooks of both these scholars assuredly contain many more conclusions of this kind than they have yet made known. If we can now point with confidence to pictures by such important painters as Robert Campin, Jacques Daret, John Prevost, Ambrosius Benson, Jan Mostaert, and several more, it is thanks in great measure to the work of these two gifted and industrious students. More numerous are the still anonymous artists whose works they have brought together under such invented designations as "the Master of the Amsterdam Virgo inter Virgines," "the Master of the Holy Blood," and so forth. The day, we hope, will come when the true names of some at least of these artists may be discovered.

It is not my purpose in the following pages to attempt a complete digest of all this knowledge. For the ordinary lover of art the works of second-rate masters are not important. It is only the owner of a second-rate picture of a great school who really gains much from it—the owner and the specialist student. The great men and the really great pictures are enough for those of us who desire to enjoy rather than to know. Neither do we much care for whom particular paintings were made, if they were persons

whose names mean nothing to us and whose achievements did not leave any important mark on history. Dates and names, marriages that affect heraldic cognizances, and all manner of details of that sort are often invaluable as means of fixing the place of a work of art in the line of some painter's activity, and thus throwing important light upon his development. The result of such investigations suffices for us, and we need not cumber ourselves to repeat the laborious process by which pioneers have revealed precious facts. The important pictures are now well enough known. The great artists are identified and for the most part correctly named and more or less correctly dated. It is not likely that much of first-rate importance remains to be discovered, or that many pictures of high rank have yet to emerge from obscurity. The cities of Europe have been rummaged from garret to basement, and most of the forgotten treasures of the first rank brought to light. Let us therefore for the time content ourselves with what has been done for us thus far and thankfully approach the rich feast which the labours of so many have combined to prepare.

The very day when the writing of this book was finished, I received an invitation to become the Director-General of the Imperial War Museum. Time has since been lacking for study of the publications issued in foreign countries during and since the war-years. That deficiency has been more than supplied by the expert help kindly extended to me by my friend Mr. Tancred Borenius in helping me to see this book through the press. My warmest thanks are due and are hereby rendered to him.

THE VAN EYCKS AND THEIR FOLLOWERS

CHAPTER I

THE GOTHIC AGE

Toward the close of the fourteenth century the art of the Low Countries, and that of France and the Rhineland also, were still essentially branches of the great mediæval Gothic School, though a new life had entered into them and that new life was to change the face of civilization. But the Renaissance, if already heralded, had not yet dawned in the North. No one there was consciously looking back to the achievements of classical days and endeavouring to imitate and revive them. That was to happen, was indeed already beginning to happen, in Italy, but for another hundred years or more the North went its own way and pursued its own traditions and ideals whithersoever they happened to lead. We cannot, therefore, profitably launch forth on the stream of artistic production in the time of the Van Eycks without making ourselves to some degree acquainted with its upper reaches in the great realm of Gothic achievement. It is true that nowadays an author may assume in his readers a much larger acquaintance with the works of mediæval art than was possible even thirty years ago. Travel has familiarized most intelligent persons, even in England, with the great cathedrals of France and the churches and palaces of Italy. The history of that romantic period is likewise more widely known than of yore. Such outstanding characters as St. Francis of Assisi are men of flesh and blood to many more than could have realized them a generation ago. It will suffice, therefore, in the first instance to quicken the reader's memory rather than to attempt his instruction.

Notwithstanding all the knowledge of records, literature, and

art of the mediæval age, centrally represented by the thirteenth century, it remains, and always must remain, difficult for a modern man to enter into and feel at home in that age. Read, for instance, Mr. Coulton's notable work, *From St. Francis to Dante*, with its wealth of first-hand descriptive and contemporary reports of men, their sayings, and their astonishing deeds : it is assuredly not easy to imagine oneself living in such surroundings, acting on such motives, and incorporating such peculiar notions. That was indeed a world-epoch wholly different from this in which we live. A world-epoch is not a mere scale of succeeding events, but a vast symphony of action wrought out in the lives of countless men and women. Surely in no age except in the great days of Greece was the output of humanity more wonderful, more splendid than in the Gothic period. Ushered in by the Crusades, when all Western Europe went mad with an ideal, it gave birth to chivalry, to a wonderful conception of human unity as expressed in an imaginary world-empire spiritual and temporal, and to the most complete and in its day entirely lucid and acceptable harmony of social structure and faith. It was an age that built Venice and the great cathedrals, that covered Europe with monastic establishments in which an attempt was made to live for something higher than material satisfaction. It was an age in which the seraphic fire of Francis could blaze in splendour before the enraptured eyes of mankind—an age that produced the kingship of St. Louis, the philosophy of Anselm, the enthusiasm for righteousness of Bernard of Clairvaux. It was an age, too, of song and wonder, of the almost Homeric Chanson de Roland and the strange world-wandering troubadours. But above everything else it was a great building age, when all that was most aspiring in the minds of men found expression in high-vaulted churches, rich with sculpture. Never were stones more gloriously builded together than by the thirteenth-century masons of royal France. Such a cathedral as that of Reims was not a mere specimen of what could then be made. It and one or two others, but it above them all, was the incorporation of the collective life of the people who were at the head of their age in the culmination of a great world-epoch. The middle-age, as it were, resided in Reims, was therein embodied and entirely expressed. So long as that cathedral stood in all the glory of its

unrivalled perfection of mass and detail, the middle-age still existed in full view of modern man. To destroy it was not merely to destroy a beautiful thing that foolish people might imagine could be replaced by another. It was to destroy the chief accomplishment of three hundred years of the labour of the civilized part of Europe, for Reims was in itself a thing commensurate with an epoch of civilization.

No great Gothic building can be comprehended at a glance. The mass of it, the balance and building of it, do indeed impose upon a spectator an immediate effect, but it is in its details, in its ornaments and accessories, in its recondite parts gradually revealed, that the voice of the edifice is to be heard. Great Gothic churches were intended to be lived with. They were to instruct and delight a settled population—the folk who had made great sacrifices to erect and adorn them. A Moslem religious edifice, such as the Taj, strikes the beholder at first view with the full force of its magnificence and beauty. The first vision is the greatest. It is not so with a mighty Gothic cathedral. The impression produced by it grows with time and familiarity. The great mediæval cathedrals were more than mere places of worship, prayer-books graven in stone. Each was the heart of a city's life. They symbolized and expressed all that mediæval man believed of the world that was, is, and is to come. There was then no discord between the religion and the daily life of men, as they held it should be lived, nor, consequently, was a different style employed for the adornment of one kind of object or another. There was no special religious architecture, or kind of decoration proper for a church and unsuitable elsewhere. Household implements were embellished with carvings of the subjects that found place in the portals of a cathedral. What the sculptor carved the painter also painted and the embroiderer worked. Not till the Reformation did the wedge enter that was destined to sunder religion from daily life. Before it the two were but different aspects of one thing.

Mediæval art, like mediæval religion, reflected every side of life and tried to express the many moods and humours of men. Just as folk-festivals and religious solemnities followed one another in the same building, alike under saintly and angelic patronage, so art changed from grave to gay, from serious to grotesque, in the faith

that the eyes which regard mankind from Eternity's stillness look with equal favour upon hours of merriment and of worship, and find as much to approve in the labour of a man's hands as in the emotions of his puzzled heart. The life of Christ, to the Gothic mind, was a permeating influence throughout all human life. The husbandman at his plough and the churchman at his prayers were both performing a religious function. Hence the common introduction in cathedral portals and windows of the occupation of the months, these occupations being as much a part of the Christian religion as were the events of the life of Christ, its founder.

In the Cathedral of Chartres the full-toned voice of a great mediæval church may still be heard—the things about which it spoke and the manner of its speaking. That cathedral possesses in tolerable condition three fine sculptured porches by which entry is made from north, west, and south. Let us take the north porch as typical of the rest. It tells chiefly of the Virgin and of her sweet influence, which, to the Gothic mind, embraced all the thoughts and actions of men and angels in the visible and invisible worlds. This porch contains three doorways, each filled above and on either side with sculpture. Over and before them is a richly wrought atrium. In all there are upward of seven hundred carved figures, large and small, many of a high order of beauty.

The central figure is a colossal statue of St. Anne, holding the Virgin in her arms, and standing upon a bracket carved with the story of Joachim. Overhead the chief subjects are the Dormition, Assumption, and Coronation of the Virgin. Three incidents from the birth and early days of the infant Jesus are carved over the door on the left, their purpose being to tell the central fact of the Virgin's life ; in a corresponding position on the right are the Judgment of Solomon and the sufferings of Job as examples of Justice and Patience, the leading virtues of the Virgin herself. The setting for these central jewels is of an astonishing richness, every subject hereafter mentioned being so placed as to suggest sidelights of thought, by connexion with its neighbours above and below and contrast with those that balance it in corresponding positions. There are forty-two colossal statues, twenty-six of Saints and Prophets, two representing the Annunciation, two the Visitation, two the symbolical figures of Synagogue and Church, two the Active and

Contemplative life, while the remaining eight are intended as monuments of the royal and noble personages by whose munificence or under whose rule this great work was done. These forty-two persons stand upon brackets carved with subjects illustrative of their lives. Around the arched-over part of each door come rows of angels in the *voussures*, some being the angels of the sun, moon, and stars. Then there are the physical and spiritual ancestors of the Virgin and a number of representatives of the human race in adoration of the Lady of Pity. To these succeed sets of carvings of chief incidents in the lives of Samson and Gideon, Esther and Judith, Tobit, Samuel, and David—each chosen as example of one side or another of the ideal character. Further, we have the whole story of the Creation, the Fall, and the condemnation of man to a life of labour and sorrow. Here, therefore, the Occupations of the Months find place and with them the Signs of the Zodiac and figures emblematic of Summer and Winter. The Arts and Sciences follow, and the various modes of life, active and contemplative; then, as warning and example, the ten Virgins of the parable, the twelve Fruits of the Holy Spirit, the fourteen Beatitudes of body and soul, and the seven Virtues overcoming the seven Vices. The whole is surmounted by a seated figure of God Most High in the attitude of benediction. This is but the decoration of a single portal of the church.

Bear in mind that there is another porch as richly sculptured as this one, and a third less rich, as being the work of a previous generation which was feeling its way. The church within was as vocal as without. What paintings may have adorned its walls we know not, but its windows, filled with storied glass, still exist. Over each great porch is a vast rose window; they represent respectively, the Last Judgment, the Glory of Christ, and the Glory of the Virgin. Beside these there are 125 double-light windows, 35 smaller roses, and 12 yet smaller. Almost all the painted glass with which these openings are enriched dates from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The windows were gifts, many presented by guilds of workmen of the town. In these the occupations of the trades are sometimes shown, subjects drawn directly from the folk-life of the day. Others were gifts from nobles, who are represented by figures in contemporary costume, though

not portraits. One donor and his wife are shown playing chess—and pray why not? But the greater part of the pictures deals with incidents in the lives of Christ and the Virgin and of some fifty saints. There are, besides, the Apostles, the nine orders of angelic hierarchies, the Patriarchs and Prophets of the Old Testament, the parables of the Prodigal Son, the Good Samaritan, and the Ten Virgins, as well as illustrations of rarer types, such as the Virgin holding in her lap the Seven Gifts of the Spirit. One window shows a set of types and antitypes from the Old and New Testaments; others have again the Occupations of the Months and the Signs of the Zodiac; one with the Stem of Jesse is copied from a famous original, a few years older, which was at St. Denis and was likewise repeated at Le Mans, Canterbury, and elsewhere. A few are filled with a finely decorative *grisaille*.

The range of subjects at the disposal of the Gothic artist was thus by no means small, yet it was in practice restricted to such compositions as were understood and could easily be recognized by an unlearned public. An artist was not asked for novelty but for lucidity and a decorative effect. Painters, sculptors, embroiderers, miniaturists—all alike worked in subordination to architecture. Most of the beautiful things made were intended to be used in, and to harmonize with, a great building. Everyone then knew that a female figure holding a lamp upside down was one of the Foolish Virgins, and that a woman with a wheel was St. Catherine. An artist had only to jog the memory of the spectator so far as subject was concerned, but he had more especially to delight his eye, and that was where his art came in. As rich decoration, not in sculpture only, but in painted sculpture, was an essential part of Gothic architecture at that time, so painting and all the other arts were mere handmaids of architecture. Throughout the Dark Ages, from the fifth to the tenth or eleventh century, the leading art had been that of the goldsmith, as in times of insecurity was not unnatural. By the thirteenth century even that had been brought under the sway of the architect, as any silver or gold bookbinding will show, for on them you will find figures in high relief under elaborate canopies, which would serve equally well as designs for the sculptured niches and their contained figures on any cathedral front. So, too, it was with painting. Pictures, whether on walls

or the pages of manuscripts, were in truth coloured sculpture in architectural frames depicted on the flat. The background is of plain gold or resembles a decorated hanging or patterned wall-surface. Against this the figures are relieved in coloured silhouette. Their number is the least lucidity required. The grouping is simple and approximately symmetrical. Each figure is quiet in pose and drapery. Colours are flat; few are employed, and those bright and pure – blue, red, green, and so forth. All is reserved, direct, and yet brilliant. The figures, moreover, are of one type. They express one ideal character, except where vicious men have to be portrayed, and then the mediæval artist fails. Faces are not intellectual, neither are they individual. They possess none of the qualities of a portrait. They depict types, not persons.

What was the ideal thus everywhere attempting to get itself expressed by successive generations of artists in all countries of the west, and especially in France? It was the ideal which generated the devotion of saint and monk and nun, and sent men in their thousands to the Holy Land to fight battles for an ideal Lord. It was the ideal which remade Europe after the Teutonic hosts had once almost destroyed it; which raised the new peoples from the grovelling savagery of the invasions and taught them to be reverent, generous, just, and true. It was this which has bred whatever of manliness and righteous life is in us even to this present day; an ideal which has fastened itself as permanently in our thoughts, let us hope, as in our language, and if it had left behind no greater monument than the name of "gentleman," would in that alone have bequeathed a richer heritage than many a conquering race in all its works of pride.

For a hundred years, no more, harmony in government, social life, religion, and art was maintained about as perfectly as is possible in this imperfect, ever-changing world. By the fourteenth century the culminating days had passed. Feudalism was dying or dead. The monastic orders were growing corrupt. The pecuniary exactions of the Church were being resented. The balance of classes was becoming unstable. Most ominous of all, society was no longer completely permeated by a single ideal, dimly or grossly perceived by the masses, finely by the elect, sufficiently by all. When Jewish philosophers introduced the works of

Averroës and the Moslem philosophers to the philosophers of Christendom, and thereby gave emphasis to the inevitable opposition between Nominalist and Realist, the seed of the Reformation was sown. The Averröists of the thirteenth century—William of St. Amour and the rest—were succeeded in the fourteenth by Wicklif, in the fifteenth by Huss, and in the sixteenth by Luther. Revived individualism was sapping the foundations of mediæval socialism alike in Church and State. In the thirteenth century religious ideas and ecclesiastical forms and government were in harmony. After the thirteenth century ideas were steadily changing, but forms were maintained by vested interests. An ultimate cataclysm was assured.

For the student of art the fourteenth century spiritualists or "mystics" are a notable group of men, whose centre of life was in the valley of the Rhine.[1] That was an awful time of wars, famines, and the Black Death. In presence of these physical horrors sensitive souls were driven to turn from the material to the spiritual, from the darkness without to a light within. Such were Meister Eckhardt, Tauler, Suso, and many more. They had no thought of sundering themselves from the Church, but they raised their voices against the lewdness and luxury of Churchmen and the growing formalism of the folk. They did not preach penance, good works, and the like. They endeavoured rather to transfer to others the enthusiastic yearning of their own souls after God, after holiness, and the new life that followed upon an entire surrender of the soul to Christ.

"The mystic," wrote Mr. Beard in his Hibbert Lectures, "is one who claims to be able to see God and Divine things with the inner vision of the soul—a direct apprehension, as the bodily eye apprehends colour, as the bodily ear apprehends sound. His method, as far as he has one, is simply contemplation; he does not argue or generalize, or infer; he reflects, broods, waits for light. He prepares for Divine communion by a process of self-purification: he detaches his spirit from earthly cares and passions; he studies to be quiet that his still soul may reflect the face of God.

[1] See A. Peltzer, *Deutsche Mystik und die Kunst* (Strassburg, 1899) and *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1913, p. 297.

He usually sits loose to active duty; for him the felt presence of God dwarfs the world and makes it common: he is so dazzled by the glory of the one great object of contemplation, that he sees and cares for little else. . . . The mystic is always more or less indistinct in utterance: he sees, or thinks he sees, more than he can tell: the realities which he contemplates are too vast, too splendid, too many-sided to be confined within limits of human words. . . . Give a mystic the thought of God, and his mind wants and can contain no more: from a soul so filled, all peculiarities of ecclesiastical time and place drop away as useless shell or indifferent garment. This is the reason why the works of great mystics have always been the world's favourite books of devotion."

Such were the mystics of the Rhine Valley and the Low Countries—"Brethren of the Free Spirit," "Friends of God," and other open or secret fellowships. Their leaders attracted large congregations. No organized movement at once resulted or was desired, but individual lives were changed and individual thought germinated. An all-sided effort, social, religious, political, industrial, artistic, had piled up the great Gothic cathedrals. The whole round of national life and thought was embodied in them. No such monumental result could come from the ferment of the mystics. Moreover, pomp of ceremonial, and all of doctrine and circumstance that it implied or involved, were discordant with their feelings. What they desired was more fervour in private devotion, more ecstasy of the soul in contact with the Divine. Whatever could help toward that they fostered; all else was nothing to them. If we are to find mediæval mysticism expressed in art, we shall have to look for it, not in the architecture of the thirteenth, but in the small and highly finished pictures and manuscript illuminations of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

After the Black Death, in the middle of the fourteenth century, a change took place in Gothic architecture and the allied arts. Its monumental character gradually deserted it. Great wall-spaces are fewer. Clustered columns become slenderer and more multiplex, tracery more intricate and less geometrical. Ornamental details increase in number and delicacy. Lines are more flowing; vaulted roofs more complicated; interiors more spacious and light. Archi-

tecture, in fact, tends toward the picturesque. Sculpture advances with equal stride in the same direction. Rows of colossal figures, which in the thirteenth century stand in monumental calm, now begin to awake as to the actual world. They turn this way and that. They appear to be conversing one with another. The Virgin smiles. The Child lovingly strokes her cheek or extends His hand toward the spectator.

Cologne was no great centre of Gothic architecture, but affords an interesting example of this change. Here are some noteworthy dates. Her cathedral was founded about the beginning of the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and its enormous choir was finished about the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth —built in fact during the last half-century of the great Gothic building age. Then the building activity slackened. Years went by and little was added to the pile. The old socialistic architectural spirit, with all that it implied, ceased in the city about the time of the consecration of the choir. Turn now to the last half of the fourteenth century, and what do we see ? No longer a building activity, but a busy group of painters, Meister Wilhelm, perhaps, at their head, and all the Rhineland filling with pictures. That is one indication of the social, religious, and intellectual change that synchronized with the growth and prevalence of mysticism. Away off in distant Hamburg too, and in Bohemia, and up at the Rhine-head about Lake Constance, the same change was taking place in the last part of the fourteenth century : here sooner, there later, according to local circumstances ; but the limits of our subject cannot be so widely outstepped as to bring these movements into present consideration. A word or two about what happened in the Cologne region may suffice as typical of all.

Meister Wilhelm has been named, but in fact when his name has been written down there is not much more to add that is known for certain about him. A certain Wilhelm, born at Herle near Cologne, bought a house in the city in 1357, seems to have attained a good position among the people, and died about 1380. He may have been the Meister Wilhelm of whom the Limburg Chronicle notes in connexion with the year 1380 that he was then active, and that he " painted a man as though he were alive." A few beautiful pictures of the Cologne School have come down to us

from about that date. Whether any of them are by him who can say ? His name is a useful label for the period and style.

The most extensive picture of the kind is the altar-piece in Cologne Cathedral, called the St. Clara altar, which, one would suppose, must have been painted by the head of the local school at the time. It is Gothically architectural enough in general aspect, with its rows of moulded arcading surmounted by cusped and crocketed pediments, but the paintings within these frames are not architectural at all. Here the new spirit is plainly declared —its playful tenderness, its slender grace, its "sweetness and light." There is none of the old stateliness, but a gentle domestic humanity instead. See how in the Nativity the Babe leans out from the manger and tries to reach His mother's cheek to kiss it, the while the ass licks His head, and the little angels, fluttering in the air above, make music on their rudimentary instruments. Or note how happily father and mother unite to bathe the Child in His tub, she tenderly holding Him, he pouring warm water over His back from a copper pot—angels overhead busy as before. The spirit that animates the compositions determines also the human types: slenderness of body, purity of expression, grace and simplicity of flowing line. Of course the colouring is bright against the gold background, the patterns pretty, all details pleasantly decorative. Happiness is the keynote, happiness in domesticity in a world of people of good will. That was the kind of ideal place the much-tried folk of those days pictured as a haven of rest from the evils of this world.

Or turn to the little Madonna pictures, intended doubtless for private oratories rather than church altars. They must have been numerous, though few have survived; such are the Virgin with the pea-blossom at Nuremberg and the little triptych in Cologne Museum with Catherine and Barbara on the wings.[1] In the St. Clara altar we had incidents in the life of the Holy Family, but here we have Virgin and Child held up for adoration. Older generations in such case made of her a queen, majestic and aloof. Already at Amiens the *Vierge dorée* had descended somewhat from that high estate; now she has approached yet nearer to the human heart. She has become lovable as a woman, whom one need not fear to

[1] A foolish attempt was made a few years ago to throw doubt on the authenticity of this picture. How gladly would one buy of such a forger!

address, a gentle friend who calls for affection rather than homage, and will pour forth the protection of love rather than of power. Clearly into this presence only the pure of heart can happily enter, but they will find themselves indeed at home.

The religion of the thirteenth century was a side of the whole life of a people. Barter and sale, manufacture and war, alike then presented a religious aspect. But if thereby the ordinary actions and affairs of life seemed to receive a divine sanction, the ideals of faith tended also to be dragged through the mire. When the enthusiasm of mediæval faith lost some of its vitality, this dragging down of religion became painful to the more spiritually minded, and a reaction followed. It drove the mystery plays out of the churches into the market-places and produced other like changes. The movement of the mystics was part of this reaction. In one sense they tended to sunder religion from the daily life of ordinary folk. They laid stress upon a change of heart rather than upon ceremonies and conformities. Not the visible functions of the Church, but inward emotions were for them of prime importance. The acts of life were indeed to manifest the changed heart, but it was the change that was vital, not the acts. Thus, for them, private contemplation and private devotion were raised to the first place; public worship sank to a lower level. The necessary worldliness and pomp of ceremonial of the great symbolic religion were distasteful to these forerunners of the Reformation. Hence the novel type of this mystical Madonna. This ideal Lady evidently would be out of place over a shop-door. She could be the dream of a poet or a pure maiden, but hardly the inspiration for a life of rough-and-tumble action in a workaday world. She belongs to the oratory, not the market-place.

Another type of painting expressive of mystic ideals is the "Paradise" picture. The type did not come into existence much before the fifteenth century, one of the earliest examples being, perhaps, the central panel of a little triptych at Berlin with St. Elizabeth and St. Agnes on the wings. It may date from about 1400. Here the Virgin and four Saintesses are seated upon a flowery sward. The naked Child in His mother's arms plunges His hand into Dorothy's flower-basket and will give a blossom to Catherine who holds out her dainty little bag for it. Barbara and Margaret

contentedly look on. How different from the Gothic altar-pieces of less than a century before, in which each saint stands solemnly in his own niche, emblem in hand to tell his name! This fanciful, wayward, mystic treatment comes nearer to the spirit of the old legends, framed when Christianity was young. Here, for instance, is the tale they told about this same Dorothy, fair and pious maiden of Cappadocia.[1] Condemned to death for her faith, she said, "So be it; the sooner shall I stand in the presence of Him whom I most desire to behold, the Son of God, Christ mine espoused! His dwelling is in Paradise; by His side are joys eternal, and in His garden grow celestial fruits and roses that never fade." On her way to martyrdom, one Theophilus, a youth, called to her mockingly, "Ha! fair maiden, goest thou to join thy bridegroom? Send me, I pray thee, of the fruits and flowers of that same garden: I would fain taste of them." And Dorothy, looking on him, inclined her head with a gentle smile and said, "Thy request, O Theophilus, is granted." Whereat he laughed aloud. When she came to the place of execution, she knelt down and prayed; and suddenly there appeared at her side a beautiful boy, with hair bright as sunbeams. In his hand was a basket with three apples and three fresh-gathered fragrant roses. She said to him, "Carry those to Theophilus; say that Dorothea hath sent them, and that I go before him to the garden whence they came, and await him there." The angel sought Theophilus and found him still in merry mood about Dorothy's promise. He set before him the basket of celestial flowers and fruit, saying "Dorothea sends thee these," and so vanished. Here is the very atmosphere of the mystic artist. The Gothic painter would have depicted a stately maiden standing upright in a niche with a basket in her hand. The artist of the mystic school lets his fancy play; takes the old symbols and makes toys of them. His art becomes lyrical, and is invested with a new kind of charm which painting was better suited than sculpture to express.

A well-known picture at Frankfurt, dating from some twenty years later, shows how quickly the new style grew. In it we have no ordered grouping of courtiers about a central queen, but a true mediæval garden within the embattled outer wall of some castle enclosure, a raised bed of flowers up against it, and quantities of

[1] Mainly as told by Mrs. Jameson.

blossoms growing out of the grass, as only in Dorothy's garden could they grow, untrammelled by the seasons. She is there picking cherries into her basket with her back unceremoniously turned to the Virgin, who is reading in a book, which might be a romance for all one can tell. Cicely and the Babe are strumming on a cithern. Elizabeth is drinking at a fountain. Three young knights form a group conversing together. The birds are all tame, the flowers in full blossom, the sky clear. What a delightful world! No wonder the new ideas were found acceptable and the new style flourished.

The monuments, which the central mediæval age had created, remained—a precious memorial and potential force of great power, capable of affecting individual men and women of any day with a sense of what was noblest in the heart of mankind at a great epoch of the world—but the old spirit was gone. So it always must be in a universe for ever "becoming."

> "The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
> And God fulfils Himself in many ways."

Only by dying can a man enter fully even into the whole of his own life.

CHAPTER II

THE FOUR DUKES

Necessary consideration of the growth of mysticism and the change it was destined to produce in the arts has led us away from the countries with which our study is to be mainly concerned—the Low Countries. Situated as they are, they were open to influences both from the Rhine region and from France, but it was France to which their debt was greatest, and thither we must now turn our attention. Throughout the Gothic age France was the artistic and intellectual leader of all Europe north of the Alps; even Italy did not escape her spell. All the arts that flourished in the culminating Gothic Age reached their highest level in France, and particularly in the *domaine royale* under the immediate patronage of the kings. This is not to say that all the great artists were Frenchmen. The greatest architects were no doubt mainly French, but where the arts flourish most strongly thither men of artistic gifts are likely to be drawn; thus Paris, especially in the fourteenth century, was a loadstone to them.

For some reason, capable it may be of explanation but not yet explained, the people of what is now Belgium have throughout the centuries, even far back into Roman times, been gifted above the average of mankind with the power of artistic creation. Seven English churches contain remarkable fonts sculptured at Tournay and exported thence in the latter half of the twelfth century. The bronze font made by Renier de Huy, now in the church of St. Barthélemy at Liége, is adorned all round with sculptured figures in high relief. If correctly dated 1112 they surpass all contemporary sculpture elsewhere. They are remarkable for any date. The Meuse valley was a leading centre of metal-work, and so remained generation after generation. Many a young artist

wandered forth thence to find employment and opportunity in France. Such, for instance, was Jean Pépin de Huy, who made the beautiful effigy of Robert, son of Mahaut d'Artois, now in the Louvre. Such also were Jean de Marville and Claas Sluter, of whom more anon. The employment in France of what we should now call Belgian artists became yet more frequent in the days of the four princely brothers, sons of that King John the Good who was taken prisoner at Poitiers by the Black Prince. These four men were the great art-patrons toward the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries : to wit, King Charles the Fifth of France, Louis Duke of Anjou, Philip the Hardy Duke of Burgundy, and John Duke of Berry. By them the splendid outburst of art-production and its rapid development at that period were powerfully fostered.

Thirty years ago little enough was known about the French schools of painting in the century preceding the Renaissance. Few were they who concerned themselves with the matter. Archives, however, had been and were being read and published, and quiet work was going forward. Its results were first shown to the world in the memorable exhibition of " French Primitives " open in Paris in 1904. Great painters, till then unknown to modern fame, at once took a recognized place in the history of art, which they have since held.

Least spectacular of the four patrons I have named was that efficient monarch Charles the Wise. He employed scribes to write fine manuscripts for him, but it is clear that it was the text rather than the embellishment that appealed to him. He could not but be a considerable builder in the circumstances of his day. The old Louvre was perhaps his most notable monument, but we need not here concern ourselves with buildings. His brother Louis, Duke of Anjou, M. de Farcy tells us, " had a veritable passion for goldsmith's work, enamels, pearls, and jewels. It seems like a dream to read the description of some of his treasures, his ' very noble and very rich ' crown, his great golden tabernacle, his throne of state, and so forth." Already in 1364 he possessed seventy-three tapestries, and about a dozen years later he commanded the famous Apocalypse set still existing in the Cathedral at Angers. The Duke of Burgundy, who also ruled over most of what is now Belgium.

is a more important personage for us, because it was within the area of his dominions that the great developments took place which concern us so intimately. From Flanders to Dijon his sway extended; it is not therefore at all surprising to find in the Burgundian capital many an artist whose home was in those provinces which in our day are no longer French. Moreover, these patron brothers, if rivals in the world of art, also often aided one another to find efficient craftsmen. The Duke of Burgundy could supply many a good sculptor and painter to his brothers, and thus helped to provide opportunities for artists young and old from his own lands. The brothers, too, would from time to time lend to one another artists in their employ for particular works, or permit another's craftsman to see and gather hints from some work that was in process of making. In this, as in many ways, they forwarded the development of art in the studios maintained by them. Beside a great number of finely illustrated manuscripts, the chief works made for the Duke of Burgundy that specially concern us were those that pertained to the building, adornment, and furnishing of the Carthusian Convent of Champmol, close to Dijon, which he built to be the burial-place of his house.

As for the Duke of Berry, who was evidently the most artistically gifted of the four, every kind of splendid thing that could then be made was produced in the utmost possible perfection for him. He built numerous châteaux of elaborate character—all now practically destroyed. His manuscripts were the most splendid, his plate the most sumptuous. The mere inventories of his goods bewilder the modern student. The artists in his service were a small army; they were selected carefully and set to work with a correct understanding of what could best be required of each. We need not here inquire how they were paid. The Duke needed vast sums of money and managed to raise them out of the pockets of his subjects. Most was, however, so well spent that if the public had taken more care of the product, France would be notably richer in precious works of art even than she is to-day. Only a small fraction of the Duke's treasures have survived, but each is a thing of high and sometimes almost incalculable value, measured in mere money. Greater, however, even than the actual output of fine works which came into existence at his bidding was the impulse he gave to the

development of art, an impulse that endured long after he himself had ceased from all earthly activities.

The style of French art, alike in sculpture, painting, and all other categories, when these four patrons began to affect it, was a style definite, elaborated, and logical. At no time was the lucidity and delicate fancy of the French mind better expressed in art than about the middle of the fourteenth century. The monumental dignity of a hundred years before, of which the sculptured portal of the Virgin in her cathedral at Paris is the central example, had given place to a more delicate, elaborate, and picturesque style. As it is always more profitable, in art matters at any rate, to deal with the concrete rather than the abstract, let us examine one or two characteristic examples of French fourteenth century work. The already cited effigy of Robert d'Artois (*c.* 1318–20) may be chosen to represent sculpture, while for painting we may take a fine page of some manuscript such as the Book of Hours of Jeanne de France, Queen of Navarre (*c.* 1336–43) which was in Mr. Yates Thompson's Library. It will be realized at a glance how completely both are inspired by the same spirit. Obviously what is admirable here is neither force nor any approach to naturalism, but delicacy and grace. A refined sense of decorative value guides and restrains the artist's hand. But the illustrations speak for themselves—why toil to translate imperfectly into words the perfection of their direct appeal? A little later and we shall find that the moment of serene rightness has passed. The pages of a manuscript will be surrounded by similar borders, but the details will be coarser and more formal, more multitudinous too and intricate but not so satisfying. Guardian angels will not be conceived so simply, nor a Queen, such as this angel guides in charity, so entirely a being newly come from fairy-land to irradiate the earth with pity so gentle.

To mark the change that set in about the beginning of the last third of the century, compare with Pépin de Huy's figure the standing effigy of King Charles V, set up about the year 1370 in the portal of the Church of the Célestins in Paris, and now in the Louvre. All the sweet grace is gone; in place of it we find a bold naturalism. Here stands the man himself, "moult proprement fait," as Christine de Pisan observed. Not Beauneveu but some much better artist made it, only we don't know who he was. The King's great



1. MINIATURE FROM THE HOURS OF JEANNE DE FRANCE (1336–48).—p. 18.



2. KING CHARLES V (*c.* 1370). LOUVRE.—p. 18.



3. PARADISE-GARDEN. RHINE SCHOOL (*c.* 1420). FRANKFURT.—p. 13.



4. ROBERT D'ARTOIS, BY JEAN PÉPIN DE HUY (1318–20).—p. 18.

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nose imposed itself upon him, and he gave it full value. There had been other great noses before this one. St. Edmund had one, "valde eminentem," and so for that matter had Abbot Samson of St. Edmundsbury, but they are not recorded in art. The idiosyncrasies of the human form did not interest artists in the old days. But when the great nose of Charles V came along, the sculptors, draughtsmen, and miniaturists of his day gleefully seized upon it and multiplied the likenesses of it for everlasting memory. See what a hold it took of Jacques Bandol of Bruges, or he of it, in that astonishing dedication miniature of his, where he shows himself presenting his book to the King. That was in 1371. Compare his painting with the page of the Queen of Navarre's Book of Hours. It manifests the same change as the sculpture. An almost brutal realism has replaced the ideal grace and delicacy of a former day. This realism invaded France, but was not French. It was the Netherlandish spirit finding its own expression, and no longer content to subordinate itself to an imposed restraint.

It may be objected that already about 1359 some artist, perhaps Girart d'Orléans, in the employ of the unfortunate King John in his exile in England, had painted the well-known portrait of him, which is perhaps the earliest testimony to the existence of the new tendencies. But we have no certainty that that picture was painted by a Frenchman, nor that it was painted in France. Jacques Bandol was evidently a Fleming. He did not live in Paris. He was already working for the King as early as 1368, in which year he received a house at St. Quentin as a royal gift. He comes into the refined French medium almost like a barbarian invader. His dedication miniature is a sure milestone from which we can reckon progress, and we need no better one. The realistic French painting of the fifteenth century was plainly under the influence of the schools of the Low Countries. In earlier centuries those schools had been tributary to France. Now the tables were being turned. Obviously the movement that effected the change cannot have arisen out of a French initiative.

Though we have been able to cite two emphatic examples of the new spirit, dating from the very days of its first efficiency, it must not be supposed that a revolution was at once effected in the character of the whole output of the artists working in France. Things

do not so happen. The first generation of artists employed by the Dukes were men trained on the old lines and working in the old fashion, only slightly modified as time and the pressure of patronage decreed. Even Jacques Bandol, when in 1377 the King lent him to the Duke of Anjou to design tapestries for the adornment of the chapel in the castle at Angers, took with him a thirteenth century manuscript of the Apocalypse, richly illustrated, and was no doubt ordered to copy those miniatures for his designs. The manuscript is still in the Cambrai Library. The weaving was done at Paris on the looms of Nicolas Bataille.[1] It will be evident that little can be learned about Bandol's art from works thus designed and interpreted.

Every student of the art-history of France in this period knows the importance of a certain silk hanging, painted in monochrome, which is preserved in the Louvre, and known as the Parement de Narbonne. Such painted silks for the service of the altar are known to have been made by the King's painter, Girart d'Orléans (*ob.* 1378). He was at least the third in succession of an important family of painters to whom frequent reference is made in fourteenth century accounts, but if he was the artist who made King John's portrait he certainly did not paint this Parement. The name of Jean d'Orléans, who from 1364 on was one of King Charles V's painters, has likewise been associated with this work, but no one can certainly say who made it. Sure it is, according to Professor Hulin de Loo, that the painter of the Parement executed a set of miniatures in a manuscript commanded by the Duke of Berry, which we shall consider presently. That was between 1380 and 1390. Jean d'Orléans is specially recorded as having made for that Duke, into whose service he passed about 1402, " une petites heures esquelles sont les heures de Notre Dame, etc.," but that may not be the manuscript in question, which was anything but small.[2] The painter of the Parement, whoever he was, was thoroughly impregnated with mid-fourteenth century traditions. There is nothing realistic about his style. He even makes the figure of Christ at the

[1] M. Guiffrey, *Nicolas Bataille, tapissier parisien, sa vie, son œuvre, et sa famille.*

[2] It appears, however, that a " petites Heures " may be a big book and a " grandes Heures " a small one, the adjectives applying not to the size of the book but to the liturgical character of its contents.

column a graceful pattern, while the cords that bind His hands are decoratively twined and knotted like a piece of fine basketwork! Yet, when he comes to the portraits of Charles V and his Queen, even he betrays some slight sense of the new tendency, though he cannot help refining down the prominence of the great nose, instead of insisting on it like Flemish Bandol.

It is, however, the painters employed by the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy who claim special attention and to whom we must turn. A large part of the library of the former has no doubt been destroyed, but M. Leopold Delisle knew of eighty-eight manuscripts made for him and still existing.[1] It will save trouble if we here set down the names of a few of the most important which we shall have occasion to mention from time to time.

1. The *Beauneveu Psalter* (Bibl. nat. Paris, ms. fr. 13091). The Inventory of 1402 names André Beauneveu as painter of some of the miniatures. Seven were added by Jacquemart de Hesdin.

2. The *Grandes Heures* (B.N.P., ms. lat. 919), finished in 1409, illuminated under the direction of Jacquemart.

3. The *Petites Heures* of before 1402 (B.N.P., ms. lat. 18014), likewise by Jacquemart.

4. The *Très Belles Heures* (Bibl. roy. Brussels, ms. 11060), made under the direction of Jacquemart and containing miniatures by him. I shall refer to this as the *Hours of Brussels.*

It is unfortunate that in the multitude of miniatures painted in manuscripts of this period so few should be identifiable as the work of definite artists. We can group together tentatively sets of works as apparently by one master, or by a master and his pupils. We can also find in inventories and books of accounts the names of a great many artists, but we seldom know what works to assign to any of them. In a few rare cases we are able to attribute with reasonable certainty some work or group of works to a named painter. One thus identified thereby receives advertisement, and may appear more eminent than he was. The reputation of André Beauneveu, for example, thus profits. He was not a first-rate

[1] Seventy-one in France, ten in England, three in Italy (two of them since burnt), three at Brussels, one at The Hague.

artist. The painter of the Parement, on the other hand, gets less than his due, because his name is forgotten.

Fortunately we can name one of the best painters, perhaps the best, employed by the Duke of Berry at a relatively early date. He was called Jacquemart de Hesdin. Hesdin in Artois, if that was his birthplace, had been the home of Countess Mahaut—that great-niece of St. Louis and grandmother of a Duchess of Burgundy, through whom her inheritance passed into the possession of Philip the Hardy. At Hesdin she had maintained an important atelier of painters and artists of all kinds, so that Jacquemart may have started life with an artistic equipment acquired at home. Mahaut died in 1329.[1] Jacquemart can have been born about 1350. The gap is not a wide one. Whether he was educated at Hesdin or Paris, it was the traditions of the Paris School that Jacquemart acquired, and to them he adhered. There is nothing that can be called Flemish or realistic about his art.

The *Book of Hours* (No. 4 above) now in the Brussels Library is, no doubt, the one described in the Duke of Berry's inventory of 1402 as " très richement enluminées et ystoriées de la main Jacquemart de Odin." An examination of the book shows that the first two full-page pictures, which are in grisaille with the flesh parts tinted, are by a master, the remaining eighteen by an assistant, whom Count Paul Durrieu identifies[2] as the painter of miniatures in a quantity of other manuscripts and notably in the *Hours of Maréchal de Boucicaut*, now in the André Collection. It is therefore only the first two grisaille pages that here concern us. By an unfortunate error these two grisaille miniatures were for some time attributed to Beauneveu, having been grouped with the twenty-four grisaille miniatures of prophets and apostles, certainly by him and his assistants, painted at the beginning of *Beauneveu's Psalter* (No. 1 above). A more critical examination,[3] however, sufficed to demonstrate that there is no connexion between the work in these two groups, the stylistic differences being fundamental. Before the correction of this blunder obtained currency, and while the two

[1] As to Mahaut and her artistic activities, see A. Kemp-Welch, *Of Six Mediæval Women*, London, 1913, pp. 83 ff.

[2] *Revue de l'Art*, June and July, 1906.

[3] See R. de Lasteyrie in *Mon. et Mem. Piot*, iii.

Brussels miniatures were being accepted as characteristic of Beauneveu, other works were referred to him by their likeness to these, and much was written about Beauneveu when, in fact, Jacquemart was intended.

Here, then, we have an important artist, at the head of his profession in France, whom we shall find to have been representative of French art in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. Besides being responsible for the production of the *Hours of Brussels* (No. 4) he is also plainly recorded in the Duke of Berry's inventory of 1413 as having had the chief part in the *Grandes Heures* (No. 2 above)—" très notablement enluminées et historiées de grans histoires de la main Jaquemart de Hedin et autres ouvriers de monseigneur." The mixture of hands in this book is obvious, but it is not difficult to identify the work of the leading artist. Far more uniform and likewise by him, though not so recorded, is the *Petites Heures* (No. 3), and so are seven of the miniatures in the latter part of *Beauneveu's Psalter* (No. 1). Recorded dates and a comparison of the ages of the Duke as depicted in the miniatures enable us to arrange these four books in the following chronological order, the first three being entered in the 1402 inventory :

Between 1380 and 1402, the *Petites Heures.*
Between 1390 and 1402, *Beauneveu's Psalter.*
Between 1390 and 1402, the *Hours of Brussels.*
Finished in 1409, the *Grandes Heures.*

On the ground of similarity of style to the foregoing, Mr. Roger Fry[1] attributes to the same artist :

A sketch-book in Mr. Pierpont Morgan's collection.
A drawing in the University Galleries at Oxford.
A portrait of Richard II in Westminster Abbey.

To the same school we must assign the splendid drawing, in the Louvre, of the Dormition and Coronation of the Virgin, the connexion of which with Bourges and the Duke of Berry was proved by Count Paul Durrieu.[2] It is the finest design of the school. If all these works are not actually by the hand of Jacquemart, they are

[1] See the *Burlington Magazine,* x, p. 31 ff., xv, p. 73, xvi, p. 51.
[2] *Mon. et Mem.*, i, p. 187, with a fine reproduction.

in any case thoroughly characteristic of the style and period of French art whereof he is the principal exponent.

We know almost nothing about the life of this artist. He was in the service of the Duke of Berry by 1384, at which time he was married and living at Bourges. In 1398 his studio was in the Duke's château at Poitiers, and he had two assistants (*valets*). A certain John of Holland worked in the same studio. He accused Jacquemart's valets of stealing his colours. They fell to blows, and in the row Perrot Gurnier, John's brother-in-law, was thrust through with a sword and killed. Jacquemart then said, "Off with us! Enough of it!"—the only words spoken by him that have come echoing down the centuries![1] For the rest we only know that he was alive and still in the service of the Duke in 1409, and that he was dead in 1413.

Jacquemart's art, as has been said, appears little, if at all, affected by Flemish influence. To imagine that Jacques Bandol was his master is absurd. On the other hand, his compositions often seem akin to those of contemporary Italians. This is the case with the eighteen miniatures in the *Brussels Hours* which were painted by his assistant, who may have had some Italian training. The extraordinary throne on which the Virgin sits, in one of the first two miniatures by the master himself, can scarcely have been invented by one who knew nothing of Italy. Where else did he derive the notion of those startlingly Renaissance round arches? However that may be, Jacquemart's art was essentially Parisian. He had a delicious decorative sense. Witness the background behind the same Virgin, a mere tissue of angels, charmingly interwoven, which photography has thus far failed to reproduce. Richly decorated backgrounds are characteristic of his miniatures. The movement toward naturalistic landscape owed nothing to him. Even the half-naked golf-player, whom he selects to represent the Fool who "said in his heart there is no God," has a diapered wall for background to his ill-grassed links! It is, above all, the draped human figure that Jacquemart loved to draw, and if the Morgan sketch-book is by him he was indeed a notable draughtsman. The most attractive leaves of it, beside the one with the sweet Virgin, are those covered with the heads of courtiers, several of them

[1] See Guérin in *Arch. hist. du Poitou*, xxiv, p. 299—cited by Bouchot.

dressed for a *bal masqué*. Froissart tells the story of the famous ball in 1393 at Paris, when King Charles VI and five of his courtiers had themselves sewed into costumes that turned them into the likeness of wild men, covered in fur from head to foot. The Duke of Orleans entering with torch-bearers had the misfortune to set the five courtiers on fire, and four of them were burnt to death. The fifth saved himself by jumping into the washing-up tub, and the King escaped, thanks to the presence of mind of the Duchess of Berry, and shortly thereafter went off his head. Nothing is less improbable than that these sketches commemorate so startling a tragedy. It is not the event, however, but the quality of the drawings, their delicacy, the fine modelling, the sense of form, that here concern us. I cannot do better than quote Mr. Roger Fry's admirable criticism :

"The author of these designs shows himself not only as a supreme master of that linear design which had been till now the basis of the miniaturist's art, but as having a sense of plastic relief treated pictorially, which was altogether new to the artist of the fourteenth century. He has, moreover, an extraordinary sense of what that new relief can express in the rendering of character and mood in the human face. Character and dramatic purpose had, indeed, long before been marvellously conveyed by pose and gesture of the body as a whole, but in this sketch-book we see a predilection for the elaborate treatment of the head, which surprises us. When we look at the subtlety of gradation, at the *sfumato* of these heads, and appreciate the psychological imagination revealed in them, we can scarcely believe we are looking at the work of an artist who died between 1402 and 1413, while Masaccio and Lorenzo Monaco were still living,[1] so far does this French artist antedate the movement of Italian art in this particular ; so completely does he show himself as moving, tentatively and unscientifically, no doubt, but still as moving in the direction taken by Verrocchio and Leonardo a hundred years later."

The Louvre drawing, whether by Jacquemart or another, is a more ambitious design. It may well have been for a great painting

[1] Masaccio born 1401, Lorenzo Monaco died 1425.

to occupy the wall above the altar in a chapel in Bourges Cathedral. There is nothing Italian in its composition, but a wonderful rhythm of line that carries the eye up, through swirling groups of angels, to the seraph-ringed throne of the Trinity. Below is the Virgin on her bier with Apostles standing round. Further up, borne on a cloud of angels, she is being received by Christ descending toward her at the head of another angel-cloud, which twines down from the throne. There, at its foot, the Virgin again appears, kneeling, while the crown is held over her head.

The spaciousness of the composition, the large blank areas of sky, the absence of formal symmetry find no parallel in the tightly packed, neatly balanced groupings in the miniatures. The artist, having a great wall to cover, was faced by a new kind of problem, and solved it with no little originality and skill. But a greater marvel is the beauty of his conception. A more lyrical rendering in paint of the Virgin's triumph was never, to my knowledge, contrived. Fra Angelico himself did not more ecstatically dream than he who beheld and recorded this fair vision. That the same man should have been involved in a homicidal brawl seems incongruous ; it is mediævally far from impossible.

Whether the famous portrait of Richard II was by Jacquemart seems doubtful. Richard was at Calais in 1396 on the occasion of his marriage to his second wife, Isabeau, daughter of Charles VI—a child eight years of age ! If the picture is the work of a French artist it was probably painted then. Before its restoration by Mr. George Richmond, R.A., it retained considerable traces of the richly diapered gold background, now replaced by flat gold. The attribution to Jacquemart seems based on insufficient evidence, the thin fingers, style of drapery, and other features relied on being common throughout the school of Paris at this time.

André Beauneveu of Valenciennes comes before Jacquemart in chronological order (born about 1330–40, died after 1402). He owes most of his reputation to a " puff " by his fellow-townsman Froissart, who says that he was master of works in sculpture and painting to the Duke of Berry and a tremendously fine artist. That is an over-estimate. With the exception of the aforementioned twenty-four Psalter-miniatures, which were probably rather designed than painted by him, all his known works are sculptures,

not of the first order of merit. He made for Charles V his effigy, and those of his wife and of Kings John and Philip VI, his predecessors, all of which we can see in Paris to-day in a restored condition. They are not inspired works. Even if the marble St. Catherine in Notre Dame at Courtrai is his, it will not add to his reputation. The one thing in his favour is that the Duke of Burgundy thought it worth while to send the great Claas Sluter to Mehun, where Beauneveu was at work, to see what he was doing and to get ideas. One would have supposed that Beauneveu could have taught Sluter nothing. We need not linger over him.

The Duke of Burgundy's group of Flemish painters might be more interesting if more of their work had been preserved. In the Louvre is a circular panel of the Trinity with the Virgin, St. John, and angels. On the back of it are the arms of the Duke of Burgundy. If his court-painter Jean Malouel (Malwel) made it he was an artist of merit. The style approaches that of Broederlam more nearly than that of any other artist; but then there were so many unidentified—Jean de Beaumetz, for instance, the court-painter whom Malouel succeeded, about whom the archives have much to say, but current Museum catalogues nothing. M. Salomon Reinach[1] attributes to the painter of the Louvre roundel the miniatures in a manuscript in the University Library at Heidelberg which I have not seen. Malouel had worked at Paris for Isabeau de Bavière before entering Philip the Hardy's service. He began work for him in 1397 with a picture greatly pleasing to the Duke. In 1401 his wages were raised to half as much again as Sluter ever received.

Malouel was followed in 1415 as Burgundian court-painter by Henri Bellechose, and of him, in the following year, Duke Jean Sans Peur ordered a picture of the Vie de St. Denis. This may be the large and ugly panel in the Louvre from Champmol Abbey with the Communion and Martyrdom of the Saint at the foot of a Crucifixion. A burly executioner is taking a second cut at the saint's neck with a huge chopper, swinging it in both hands over his head in a way most dangerous to bystanders. On the ground that the same extraordinary chopper appears in another Martyrdom of St. Denis in a manuscript Pontifical (B.N.P., ms. lat. 8886), and

[1] *Gaz. Beaux-Arts*, January, 1904, p. 55.

for no other reason so far as I can see, Bouchot attributed that set of paintings to the artist of this altar-piece. It seems rather rough on the miniaturist. A better attribution to Bellechose is that by Professor Hulin de Loo of the little Pietà in Troyes Museum ; unfortunately it is so damaged that small joy can now be had of it. We shall return to these pictures later in connexion with Robert Campin.

A decidedly decorative, four-lobe-panel triptych passed in 1912 from the Weber Collection into the Berlin Museum. It dates from about 1390, and is said to have come out of Champmol. The central panel holds the Trinity, with an angel in each semicircular corner. The Trinity resembles that on the Parement de Narbonne. The four Evangelists are on the wings. The lobed form appears to have been not uncommon in France at the time, though this is perhaps the only example that has survived. It is a form common as a frame for sculptured decoration in the central Gothic age. Curiously enough it descends from the shape of a group of very beautiful jewelled brooches, much admired in Merovingian days, especially in the Rhine Valley in the seventh century—a truly Gothic origin.

Melchior Broederlam of Ypres is another painter employed by the Duke of Burgundy. Indisputable pictures by him fortunately survive. They were painted on the outsides of the wings of one of a pair of elaborately carved wooden altar-pieces,[1] copies of two which the Duke had seen and admired in the church at Tenremond and the Abbey of Bijloke near Ghent. He ordered Jacques de Beaze to carve them for his Abbey of Champmol. Evidently at this time the most elaborate and fussy Gothic was what appealed to the Duke's taste. In their present much regilt, repainted, and otherwise restored condition, the carvings, for all their multitudinous detail of arcading, crockets, and tracery, are not of any considerable merit. The figures are formal and stiff in their niches, the " histories " lacking in grip and expression. Broederlam's paintings stand on a higher level than the carvings to which they were subordinate. The subjects are patched together by help of some exaggeratedly slender architecture, such as Italian painters employed at this time and perhaps invented. The effect of this

[1] The paintings on the wings of the other have not survived.



1. SCHOOL OF JACQUEMART. LOUVRE. p. 23.



2. JACQUES BANDOL. CHARLES V.—p. 19.



3. M. BROEDERLAM. WING PANEL (1393–8). DIJON.—p. 28.



4. ST. DENIS ALTAR-PIECE, ATTRIBUTED TO HENRI BELLECHOSE. LOUVRE.—p. 27.

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kind of architectural linking would have been better if the artist's notions of perspective had been less rudimentary or the architecture more frankly decorative and better designed. The individual figure-subjects taken separately are, however, on the whole so delightful that one wonders some one did not saw them asunder in the good old days when such impieties were of no account! Two of the backgrounds consist of mountain landscapes, with castles on the peaks—an Italian trick. From the point of view of landscape painting they are not very hopeful efforts, but they at all events witness to a desire, though as yet not to any power, of depicting Nature. It is in the figures that Broederlam attains some success. His Virgins are sweet, gentle, and not without beauty—the face peeping forth from the enveloping folds of a voluminous cloak. A delightful little half-length Virgin and Child on a gold background (sold with the Aynard Collection at Paris in December 1913; No. 34) is of similar type—charmingly affectionate. The Child's eyes are as big as those Raphael was one day to paint in the head of his Sistine Babe. The draperies retain the undulating and sweeping curves, often returning on themselves, which were still normal in France. There is a lily in a pot, which might have come, pot and all, from Italy. In fact the wings, though not charming as a whole, are episodically delightful, and the more completely realized faces with their carefully studied expressions may be set alongside of Jacquemart's.[1] An Entombment in the Louvre, a small and finely finished upright panel with a bestarred gold background, is closely connected in style with Broederlam, but I have not heard that anyone has attributed it to him.

So much, then, for the painters of the Dukes. There were plenty more of them whose names are recorded and some interesting facts about them—Jacques Coene, for instance, obviously an artist of importance—but as we cannot point to their works it is merely tedious to read about them.[2] On the whole what we possess in the way of pictures by French artists, though often delightful, and, in the case of Jacquemart, of high merit, does not indicate the presence of any revolutionary genius among them in the last quarter

[1] The painting of these wings was done at Ypres, some time between the years 1392 and 1398.

[2] But see Durrieu in *Revue de l'Art*, April 10, 1904.

of the fourteenth century. Jacques Bandol's miniature alone produces on a spectator the sense of a novel force endeavouring to find expression, but it stands solitary in its day, so far as surviving examples enable us to judge.

When we turn to the Duke of Burgundy's sculptors, however, there is another story to tell. Here is originality, high genius also with new insight, new emotional forms, a new art-message to the world. I refer, of course, mainly to the great Claas Sluter. Sluter did not have to await the exhibition of 1904 to be dragged up from forgetfulness into fame; indeed, I think he had never been quite forgotten, though his reputation had no doubt worn thin and threadbare in rococo and Revolutionary days. The Puits de Moïse, in the courtyard of the Charterhouse of Champmol near Dijon, was too considerable and imposing a mass of sculpture to be long forgotten, even when the convent was made into a mad-house. When I was last there, howling lunatics appealed to Heaven within easy earshot of the sculptured base of the crucifix which the revolutionists destroyed in their no less lunatical fury. Much else was smashed up at the same time, but a good deal saved, and Sluter's reputation is secure.

He first appears in the Duke of Burgundy's service in 1385 as one of several assistants to Jean de Marville or Menneville, the Flemish master-sculptor to the Duke. When Jean de Marville died in 1389 Sluter succeeded to his place. One of the chief works they had in hand was an elaborately sculptured tomb for Duke Philip, to be erected in the Champmol church. The making of great tombs was often a burdensome affair for the sculptor. Who does not remember Michelangelo's troubles, almost amounting to tragedy, with the tomb of Julius II? A wealthy prince might project a splendid monument for himself, and have plans made and even contracts entered into; but sooner or later work to be done for his posthumous glory was liable to be postponed in favour of other work for his present enjoyment. There would be time enough for the tomb. We are not going to die just yet. Meanwhile perhaps we want a sculptured fire-place for our own chamber; let that first be provided. Thus the tomb is put off and its intended tenant dies before much has actually been done to prepare it. Jean de Marville did little more than make a design and direct the cutting

out of the basement and some of the arcading to surround it. Then came Sluter and carried the work slowly forward, but when the Duke died in 1404 there was still much to be done, and Sluter in turn quitted the world. Claus de Werve, another Fleming, took on the job and finally completed it in 1411.[1]

The purpose of the Abbey of Champmol was neither more nor less than to provide a magnificent burying-place for the Burgundy Dukes of the House of Valois, and a proper supply of religious to pray for their souls. Hence the tomb was in fact the *raison d'être* for the whole business, and fulfilled its purpose with due state till the communal council of Dijon in 1793 unceremoniously ordered it to be broken up; and broken up it was. The pieces went here and there as luck took them, and it seemed as though that would be the end. But in 1827 a fickle public changed its mind and desired to have the mischief it had wrought undone. So the bits, as far as they were discoverable, were put together again, and now one can see the reconstituted remains, obviously incomplete and very thoroughly "restored," set up in Dijon Museum. The recumbent effigy of the Duke, a fine alabaster figure, lies on a great marble slab, beneath which are a row of canopied niches all around with "mourners" standing in them. There were ninety originally; only forty have survived, and most were Claus de Werve's handiwork, but in spirit and style, perhaps also in design, they surely go back to Sluter. Such "mourners" represented the funeral company. They are already present on the monument of a bishop (of the year 1115) in St. Hilary's at Poitiers,[2] where they stand behind and at the head and foot of the defunct. Later they were placed at a lower level round the sarcophagus, as for instance on Bishop Hugo de Castellione's monument at St. Bertrand de Comminges. But Sluter's figures mourn as never stones had been shaped to mourn before. He entered into the romance of grief and sucked the very juice out of it. The emotion conveyed resides chiefly in the voluminous drapery. The men are muffled up in clothes, and

[1] A. Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* (Paris, 1907), iii, 1, pp. 394 ff. Janin Lomme of Tournay made the tomb for Charles the Noble at Pampeluna. It was ordered in 1416. It has mourners like those on Philip's tomb. Charles the Noble's mother was Jeanne of France, sister of Charles V and Duke Philip. The resemblance is thus not difficult to account for. See *Gaz. Beaux-Arts*, xl, 1908, pp. 89 ff.

[2] R. de Fleury, *La Messe*, vii, p. 158, pl. 596.

it is the clothes that talk. Never were such eloquent clothes. Yet there are living bodies within them, and it is the hidden bodies that vitalize the draperies. All this was a new thing upon earth. Gothic drapery was expressive in its own fashion, but not in this fashion. It expressed things external to the figure clothed, not emotions arising within it. Jean Sans Peur's tomb had mourners too, imitated from Philip's, and most of them carved by Jean de Huerta. They also went astray at the French Revolution, and I fancy the two lots were mixed together, and have not been properly disentangled since. But all of them came out of Sluter's brain. All are delightful: so varied, so full of invention, so surprising, so everlastingly, almost humorously, fresh. The very Duke himself, to mourn whom they were made, might have chuckled over them —but enough! they must be seen and seen again, not described; moreover, it is easy to see them, for are there not casts of them in many museums?—in the Victoria and Albert, for instance. Five pre-war francs, I believe, would buy a cast of one, which any wage-earner in these days can afford.

A fine Gothic church-portal, such as those we considered at Chartres, was normally peopled, on either hand of one entering, by a row of statues, over life-size, standing side by side in monumental dignity. Later, as in the Célestins in Paris, this became the place for portrait figures of Founders, who down to Charles V's time retained much of the dignity of pose of ancient prophets. The portal of Champmol church had to be adorned, and Jean de Marville first, Claas Sluter after him, were charged to see to it. Of course, there were canopies and brackets and other elaborate decorative details to be fashioned in profusion as well as the statuary. The Virgin was to stand on the central pier between the two doors; the Duke was to kneel on one side, the Duchess on the other, each with a patron saint standing behind. The portraits were designed and made by Sluter between 1391 and 1394, and the saints and Virgin were his also. These kneeling donors fixed a new type of funeral effigy. Marble personages thenceforward kept coming to kneel in churches all over France down to the eighteenth century, when a good many of them were sent back to stone-yards. How Duke Philip's figure escaped the iconoclasts I cannot say, but it did escape and remains one of the finest portrait sculptures anywhere to be

seen. The Duchess is a failure by comparison, and, to make matters worse, her nose and a good piece more have been chipped away. But no one would look at her anyhow, with that beautiful St. Catherine close behind, so graceful and insinuating. No wonder the Virgin turns in her direction. There is nothing to show which way the Duke's eyes are looking. It is all very remarkable, but Sluter's *chef d'œuvre* was still to come.

The monastic buildings of the Chartreuse of Champmol, the same that now are either used for a mad-house or replaced by others so employed, were built round a quadrangular courtyard, with a well in the middle. It was decided to mark the site of that well by a stone crucifix, which should stand out high above it, and be a fine centre-piece. In 1395 the foundations for this massive group of statuary were put in. That was six years after Jean de Marville's death, so he had no hand whatever in this work. Sluter laboured at it from 1397 to 1400 with the help of his nephew Nicolas van de Werve and other Flemings. I gladly copy from Deshaisnes (p. 519) the following details. Jean Hust in 1398–9 carved the delicate capitals; at the same time Sluter and his nephew sculptured the figures of the Virgin and Christ for the central group, whereof only the torso of Christ survives (in Dijon Museum). In 1399–1401 they made most of the other figures which were to stand at the foot of the cross, and Prindale sculptured the Magdalen. All these have been destroyed. Sluter reserved for his own hand the six great statues of Prophets to surround the base. Most of them were in place in 1402 and Jean Malouel was painting them. It is this great base which has fortunately survived in excellent preservation. The names of the Prophets are Moses, David, Daniel, Isaiah, Zechariah, and Jeremiah. The astonishing Moses gave his name to the whole work—Puits de Moïse.

Few mediæval forms (except in the architectural framework) and almost nothing of the mediæval spirit are here discoverable. We are in the presence of a new ideal, a new art epoch, and the essentials of the Renaissance are plainly manifest. It has often been said that Michelangelo would not have disdained these figures. The voluminous draperies are of course not what an Italian would have designed, but the spirit that animates them is the spirit of the new day—the spirit that discovered new continents, that plunged

joyously into the romance of an adventurous life and of adventurous thinking. Here too is the love of life expressed in stone—the love of this earthly human life of ours such as it is, for better or worse, without much regard for another in some ideal regions of time and space. These folk are all immensely, transcendently human. Everything about them is emphatic. Never was a head balder than Isaiah's, nor a beard more patriarchally ample than Moses', nor facial expression more forceful than Daniel's. And each is endowed with an all-compelling dignity, proper to the great event they foresaw, and in presence of which they stand.

Thus, in sculpture at any rate, the first year of the fifteenth century is marked by the complete expression of the coming ideal from the hand of the first important innovating genius of our part of the world. Sluter was the Donatello of the North, and was almost as great as Donatello. Moreover, in actual time Sluter was ahead. 1401, when he was carving these figures, was the very year in which the youthful Donatello and Brunelleschi left Florence for that important visit of theirs to Rome. It was the new spirit whose breath they felt that drove them forth. It was the same new spirit that had already kindled so mightily the imagination of Sluter. Bandol's ugly miniature was one of the first signs of its coming,[1] but Bandol was not great enough to be more than a kind of well-oiled weathercock that manifests the direction of the first fitful puff of breeze coming from a new quarter. Sluter was the gale incarnate. After him no true artist could be satisfied with the old conventions and formulæ. The new sculpture had come into being. The new painting would not slumber long. Where shall we find the first signs of its awakening? In the breast of what painter, what school of the North will it quicken? Surely the answer cannot be far to seek.

[1] So was the silver head of St. Frederick made in 1362 for St. Saviour's, Utrecht, by the goldsmith Elyas Seerpswert.

CHAPTER III

THE HOURS OF CHANTILLY

WHILE Sluter and his assistants were thus busy at Dijon, the scribes and miniaturists of the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy were pursuing the even, or (if that glimpse into Jacquemart's studio be typical) the tumultuous, tenor of their way. The Duke of Burgundy died in 1404, but the Duke of Berry continued his activities a dozen years longer, and it is work done for him that need now alone concern us. With the knowledge that the patient research of many has placed at the disposal of all, we may direct our attention at once to two manuscripts and only two. These are:

1. The Très Riches Heures in the Library at Chantilly.
2. The Très Belles Heures de Notre Dame, which was divided into three main parts:

(*a*) In Turin Library, with which it was burnt in 1903.
(*b*) In the library of Prince Trivulzio at Milan.
(*c*) In the library of Baron Maurice de Rothschild, and a few leaves in the Louvre.

For brevity let us refer to these two manuscripts as the Hours of Chantilly and the Hours of Turin respectively. It will be more convenient to take the Hours of Chantilly first, though the other was begun long before it.

When the Duke of Berry died in his Hôtel de Nesle at Paris, on June 15, 1416, after seventy-six years of unceasing labour as patron of artists, an inventory and valuation of his wonderful collections were made. The highest valued among the manuscripts were two—the Grandes Heures and another, but their magnificent gold and jewelled bindings were included in the estimate. Third came the incomplete and unbound quires of the Très Riches Heures, which thus in fact, so far as the actual leaves of the book are

concerned, was placed first in value among all the books. It is this manuscript we have now to study—the last and finest manuscript made to the Duke's order, and incomplete when he died. Fortunately there is no doubt about the authorship, for the inventory of 1416 describes what then existed as " plusieurs cayers d'une très riches Heures que fasoient Paul et ses frères, très richement historiez et enluminez." Other documents inform us that the said brothers were three in number, and that their names were Pol, Jehannequin, and Herman. They were nephews of Jean Malouel, the painter, and Malouel was their surname; Guelderland was their country of origin, and they were commonly called " de Limbourg." It is probable, therefore, that the brothers Malouel came from the very same neighbourhood as those other brothers towards whom we are slowly working our way—the Van Eycks.

In 1398 the two younger brothers Jehannequin and Herman, orphan lads, were in Paris, apprenticed, by their uncle's care, to a Flemish goldsmith. In consequence of an outbreak of plague, they were brought away by order of the Duke of Burgundy and were journeying homeward, when, in passing through Brussels, they had the bad luck to be made prisoners of war. Six months they were kept in confinement till the painters and goldsmiths of Brussels, for love of their uncle, obtained their release on parole for one year, and in May 1400 the Duke of Burgundy kindly paid a ransom for them.[1] All this time there is no mention of the eldest brother Pol. It is probable that he was then spending his journeyman days in Italy. By what stages these young and promising artists passed out of the hands of the Duke of Burgundy into those of the Duke of Berry is not stated—possibly on the death of the former in 1404. Thus Pol may have been that " German " artist in the employment of the latter who was bridegroom at a wedding in 1408 with the daughter of a rich but protesting bourgeois of Bourges, whose parental authority was overridden by the Duke, let us hope to the joy of two lovers. Ultimately all three brothers, by whatever stages, had come into the Duke of Berry's employment, and were working under the direction of the eldest, Pol. Attempts have been made to identify their earlier efforts in this and the other

[1] For these and other details about the brothers see a paper by G. Hulin in *Bull. de la Soc. d'Hist. et d'Archéol. de Gand*, 1903, with references there to other authorities.

manuscript. For us it is enough that the Hours of Chantilly was their undoubted work, and will here suffice as example of their accomplishment. Of course we have only to consider the pages illuminated for the Duke of Berry, not the twenty-three large and thirty-eight small miniatures added between 1485 and 1489 by Jean Colombe to complete the decoration of the volume.[1]

To the Limbourg brothers are due thirty-nine large, two medium-sized, and twenty-four small miniatures. Only a few of these can we here pass in review.

The most beautiful, the most thoroughly French picture in the book is that of the Coronation of the Virgin. At the first glance we recognize its affiliation to the fine Louvre drawing above discussed in connexion with the work of Jacquemart. Here is less spaciousness, but the same swirling curves in the S-shaped composition, the same clustering of angels into clouds, and a yet more perfect sense of the significance of line. Surely all that religious ecstasy ever imagined of virginal grace and purity, of the exaltation of the humble and meek, finds embodiment on this incomparable page. Details may remind us of Italian work—the flames on brows, some facial types, and the like—but these are trifles. In the presence of this picture we may think of Fra Angelico, but only because the same attractive ideal inspired both artists. There is no community of school uniting them. What we here behold is the outcome of a pure French tradition, following a direct line of development, drawn by an artist of equipment superior to his predecessors. It is the work of one who may have studied in Italy, and there acquired no little technical knowledge of colours and technicalities, but whose ideals had been formed at home in the school or atmosphere of Jacquemart, and who was strong enough to maintain them unimpaired even in the land of Giotto. That he gathered many a technical hint from the Giottists is proved by several of his designs of the accustomed round of religious subjects, especially in the case of architectural accessories. The Temple up whose steps the Virgin is mounting in the "Purification" is taken straight from Taddeo Gaddi's fresco in the Barroncelli chapel at Sante Croce in Florence, and so are the general composition and even some individual figures. The same building reappears

[1] All the illuminated pages have been well reproduced by Paul Durrieu (Paris, 1904).

in other miniatures by our artist and was often copied in Italy. It would be a current type in Italian studios when he was a journeyman.[1] A thoroughly Italian decorative landscape also appears in the Visitation. The crowded Adoration of the Magi reminds us of the compositions of Gentile da Fabriano. In the Descent from the Cross, the Virgin and so much of the figure to the left of her as is visible are copied out of the great Crucifixion fresco in the Spanish chapel in Florence. A careful hunt might show other correspondencies, but these are enough to prove Pol's presence as a student on the banks of Arno. M. de Mely thinks that the nude in the Zodiac picture was copied from the Three Graces at Siena, but I believe that group had not been discovered in Pol's Italian days, and the resemblance is not convincing. For its date and country the painted nude is indeed somewhat remarkable, but less so than the equally nude full-length figure of Adam in Cluny Museum from St. Denis, which dates from the fourteenth century. The landscape backgrounds of most of the religious subjects present no special novelty. Thus, behind the Visitation, the contorted hills are of the very same type which we saw in Broederlam's paintings and might cite in countless other pictures of the period. It is all the more surprising to be faced on the pages of the Calendar and a few others with landscapes of the most startling realism. How is this to be accounted for? Surely if the impulse came from the artist himself it would have been apparent in such a picture as that of the Garden of Eden; but no less vivid representation of a real garden could be devised. The best solution of this question seems to be that the landscapes were directly ordered by the Duke. Two of them are actually views out of his windows in the Hôtel de Nesle, looking up to the island of the Cité or across the Seine to the Louvre. Is it not probable that the Duke said to his artist, "Paint me those views as I see them from this window," and that so it was done? Most of the other landscapes contain the representations of châteaux built by the Duke, or the chief cities within his governance. Curiously enough in the case of some, such as Mehun-sur-Yèvre, while the castle is drawn with as much correct architectural detail as was then possible, the landscape behind it is

[1] In the Louvre is a contemporary drawing, copied from Taddeo's fresco, which might possibly have come to France in Pol de Limbourg's luggage.



1. CLAAS SLUTER. PUITS DE MOÏSE (1395–1403). DIJON.—p. 33.



2. SCHOOL OF SLUTER. MOURNERS ON TOMB OF JEAN SANS PEUR.—p. 31.



3. DE LIMBOURG. CHANTILLY HOURS (fol. 60 v.).—p. 37.



4. THE CITÉ OF PARIS, CHANTILLY HOURS (fol. 6 v.).—p. 38.

[*To face page* 38.

thoroughly old-fashioned, corkscrew hills and all, that being the only kind of landscape the artist could invent. For the castle, no doubt, he had an architect's drawing to follow. The best landscapes are those in which no religious subject is involved, but where the view itself is the subject. The Mont St. Michel is only so far an exception that the extremely well-dressed archangel and his spiky dragon are introduced into the sky, but the view itself has been directly drawn from nature. A further indication that these views were "orders," not an original idea of the painter, is that they are by different hands. Professor Hulin de Loo has separated them. Two of them present a marked opposition. The artist who painted April, May, and August (with Dourdan, Riom, and Étampes for background) delighted in the noble companies in front, and was not interested in the landscapes in which he had to place them; he was contented to make them decorative; but they bored him. He cannot possibly have painted more than the cottagers in February. The charming snow-scene was evidently studied with care and in detail from nature by another artist. That may have been, probably was, the man who did the views from the Hôtel de Nesle, obviously with great enjoyment. To the best of his powers he observed Nature closely: witness his group of birds behind the sower and the reflections of people in the river from off the high bank. These matters did not bore him at all; if one of the brothers was responsible for the landscape novelties, it was he, though I suspect him to have been responsive rather than responsible. It is to him that we owe the really wonderful picture of the Death of the Wild Boar in the Forest of Vincennes, facing the calendar for December. It has been reproduced and praised often enough. Most readers will remember the white castle towers—towers of the Castle in which the Duke of Berry had been born seventy-six years before—standing out above the beechen forest, which is brown with withered leaves. In the midst of an open space the dogs have brought down their quarry. A huntsman winds his horn. The other two are attending to the dogs. The selfsame group of boar and hounds appears in a sketch-book in Bergamo Town Library, attributed to Giovannino de' Grassi (*ob.* 1398), which once belonged to Lorenzo Lotto. Another sketch-book by the same artist belongs to Baron Edmund de Rothschild,

and contains similar dogs and hunting incidents. Here, then, is where Pol de Limbourg (if it was Pol) got his composition. Both cannot be copied from some common original because of the similar beasts in the Rothschild book, and an Italian draughtsman could hardly have had access to the French manuscript before 1485, which is much too late for the style of the sketch-books. A fifteenth century Florentine engraving [1] (Passavant V, p. 190, No. 104) contains a group of bears and dogs in some way related to the foregoing. It may be mentioned that the Bergamo sketch-book also contains drawings of ladies which show the kind of design common in the school by which the de Limbourgs were influenced.[2]

In 1416, then, the Duke of Berry died, and work on the manuscript suddenly stopped. Half-finished pictures were left as they were, and among them one depicting the Castle of Saumur. The architecture was drawn, but not the landscape, which Colombe completed seventy years later. The suggestion thus arises that in the case of some of these distant châteaux, a purely architectural draughtsman was employed, and that the de Limbourgs only put in the surroundings. It is, of course, possible. We may recall the tantalizing Jacques Coene of Bruges. He was a miniaturist, and if we could only find the *Bible moralisée* which was paid for in 1404, and which had been painted by Coene, Imbert Stainer, and Hancelin de Hagenau, we should be able to judge how far the evidently important position Coene held was justified by his achievements. Count Paul Durrieu [3] claims that Coene and Hancelin introduced naturalistic backgrounds before the de Limbourgs. It may have been so; we have no proof. But Coene was certainly an architectural draughtsman. The Cathedral of Milan was founded in 1386. In 1399 the chapter made a contract with Coene and another, apparently to direct the work. He was "designare ecclesiam de fundamento usque ad summitatem"—

[1] B. xiii, p. 145, No. 8. A copy of it is reproduced in P. Kristeller's *Florentinische Zierstucke*, Berlin, 1909.

[2] I am told that an Austrian lady has written about the Bergamo sketch-book ridiculing the idea that the de Limbourgs can have been indebted to it. I have not seen her publication. I published the drawing in the *Burlington Magazine* (Dec. 1910, p. 149) and indicated its connexion with the Hours of Chantilly. The *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* (vi, 438 ff.) afterwards republished them without acknowledgment.

[3] *Revue de l'Art*, April 10, 1904—an important article.

to design the church from foundation to summit. He must have been a proved architectural draughtsman to be thus employed; perhaps it was only as such that he was employed.[1] The engagement did not last long and Coene was back in Paris in time to undertake the aforesaid Bible. Of course he was not the only architectural draughtsman of his date. It is probable that we have the work of another in the Hours of Chantilly.

With the further activities of the de Limbourgs we have nothing to do. Their interest for us centres in the landscapes they painted in the Hours of Chantilly and the fact that all of these date from before June 15, 1416, when the Duke of Berry died. Landscape art had been born, and these landscapes were so good that a hundred years later the artists employed on the Grimani Breviary could do no better than to copy them. They are not imaginative landscapes. They open no door into a world of romance, except to us moderns for whom the facts of the past appear romantic in comparison with the present. The important point about them is their veracity and that they yet decorate the page. Of course they gain greatly from age. They enable us to look at the Paris of 1416, and we are naturally more thankful than critical. Yet be as critical as we may we cannot decry their charm. The eyes of men had at last been opened to the beauty of the actual world—the face of nature. It was certain that they would never again for long together be closed to it. Art had won a new domain, but to whom was this conquest due? To this question we shall seek an answer in the following chapter.

[1] See Hulin, *loc. cit.*, p. 23.

CHAPTER IV

THE HOURS OF TURIN

The Hours of Turin, that important manuscript which I have already mentioned as divided into three parts in the Turin, Trivulzio, and Maurice de Rothschild Libraries, now claims our close attention. It was begun for the Duke of Berry, the earliest set of miniatures in it being the handiwork of the artist who painted the Parement de Narbonne in the Louvre. Its principal pages are composed on a uniform design. The border is the usual foliated Gothic affair of French fourteenth century type, and this appears to have been made by the scribe who wrote the text or some other craftsman working in the scriptorium and completing each page with its border as it was written. The leaves were then turned over to the miniaturist. His business was to add (on the chief pages) a large miniature at the top, being of the full width of the text and taller than wide, also a decorative initial letter and a wide short miniature at the foot of the page. Often the initials and foot miniatures were done by an assistant while the big miniature was by his master. The "Parement" master first got under way, and decorated a certain number of leaves—he and his helpers—at a date which may be guessed to have been somewhere in the eighties of the fourteenth century. In this and all else about the division of the work between different hands I shall follow the conclusions of Professor Hulin de Loo, as stated in his elaborate monograph entitled the *Heures de Milan*. It was published with reproductions of the miniatures in the part of the manuscript which now belongs to Prince Trivulzio. His text takes account, in an appendix, of important articles by Count Paul Durrieu in the *Révue archéologique* (Paris, 1910, ii, pp. 30 ff. and 246 ff.). It was Count Durrieu who, in 1902, first called prominent attention to the Turin manuscript by publishing a set

of reproductions of its illustrated pages and of those in the Louvre. Little did he then suppose that within a couple of years the original would have been utterly destroyed by fire and his reproductions would be its only monument.[1] It is unnecessary here to repeat references to all the literature on the subject; they will be found duly set out in Hulin's work. The pages of the Maurice de Rothschild section have not been published, but they are not important for the purposes of the present chapter.

The pages decorated by the "Parement" artist and a couple more which betray other hands are all the work that was done in the fourteenth century. In the early years of the fifteenth century (*c.* 1402–5) another hand was given a turn. He was a good enough painter of the school, but many of his miniatures were retouched all over some ten or a dozen years later, while the same fate overtook the pictures added by a third hand working, so Hulin says, between the years 1409 and 1413. By that time the book was getting pretty old-fashioned, and by no means up to the level of what the de Limbourgs could do. With the exception of the work in it by the "Parement" artist, it contained nothing first-rate, whilst the third hand was of far from outstanding merit.

It may be suspected that when the Duke ordered the Hours of Chantilly, it was to take the place for which this earlier volume had originally been intended. What, however, was no longer good enough for the magnificent Duke was a first-class treasure for anyone else, and it was accordingly taken over by Robinet d'Estampes, guardian of the Duke's jewels and books, in exchange for another manuscript. This happened in 1412. The new owner divided it into two parts: the first, being far advanced toward completion, he kept; the second he got rid of. The decoration of the first part was forthwith completed by two artists who do not concern us. This is the portion now belonging to Baron Maurice de Rothschild. The second part passed into the ownership of Duke William of Bavaria, who was likewise Count of Hainault and Holland and nephew of the Duke of Berry. The important date of this purchase is estimated by Hulin at about the end of 1414 or the beginning of the following year. As the Duke of Bavaria died

[1] Except a few miniatures reproduced in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1903, vol. xxix), probably from the same negatives, but much better reproduced than in the complete publication.

May 31, 1417, whatever was done to the manuscript for him was done within narrow limits of time.

We may here at once observe that the most remarkable feature of the miniatures added for the Bavarian Duke was the landscape element in them. Thus we find landscapes painted here within the years 1415–17, the only other set of about the same date being those done by the de Limbourgs in the Hours of Chantilly before June 15, 1416, when the Duke of Berry died. Both sets were therefore approximately contemporary, and there is no *prima facie* reason for attributing one set to an earlier date than the other. Hulin points out that Duke William was politically busy in France, helping to make the peace between the Houses of Burgundy and Orleans, which was concluded September 4, 1414, and that it was probably then that he bought his manuscript. He got it from the Duke of Berry's librarian ; it is therefore highly probable that at the same time the new landscapes were spoken of, and the subject of landscape painting may have been discussed with the artistic Duke his uncle. Internal evidence alone can decide to which group of naturalistic landscapes priority is to be conceded. Why should the Duke of Bavaria on a visit to France have purchased a manuscript in which the text and borders were complete but the spaces for miniatures vacant? Obviously because he had a miniaturist ready to hand who could paint them. If it had not been so he would surely have purchased a finished manuscript. If he had his artist prepared it was because he had already employed him or seen what he could do. Nothing is more likely than that he had a specimen of his work with him to " put the nose out of joint " of his rich and magnificent uncle, as is the kindly way with art-patrons.

But let us examine the miniatures which were actually painted for the Duke of Bavaria and see whither they lead us. In the first instance we need regard only the landscapes, whereof there are four of outstanding merit and beauty. In the first, small boats are sailing on the choppy waters of a river-estuary ; a city, crowned by a stately castle, rises from its margin, and hills roll away up-stream into the distance. The saintly legend illustrated is of no account ; the landscape is the subject. A second example is the background behind the Betrayal, with a fanciful picture of Jerusalem in the midst, rather faint in the oncoming twilight,

and relieved against a splendid sunset sky, obviously studied from nature. Here is not merely a catalogue of details visible, but a notable effect of light, beheld, enjoyed, remembered, and set down. The third, no less remarkable, is a scene crowded with people and commemorating a historical event. Two years after he had laboured to compose the differences of his quarrelling relations the same Duke of Bavaria went to England in May and June 1416 to assist in making peace between England and France after the campaign of Agincourt. On his way back he made a vow to Notre Dame de Poke near Veere in Zeeland, crossed the sea in twenty hours, safely landed, and forthwith accomplished his vow. Here he and his suite are seen safely ashore, met by Jacqueline, the Duke's daughter, and her ladies.[1] The tower of Veere is in the distance; waves are breaking on the long curving line of shore; there are beached ships, sailors at work, and other boats in the offing. The very spirit of the actual joyous world is expressed—a fine summer day, a sky bright with harmless clouds, a pleasant breeze, laughing waters, and the whole wrought into an excellent pictorial unity. It is an "effect" once more. These three landscapes, alas! vanished in the flames that consumed the Turin Library so soon after their importance had been pointed out, and before most of us, who would so greatly have cared, had occasion to set eyes on them.

The fourth and artistically finest of the landscapes fortunately still survives in the Trivulzio Library at Milan. This is not one of the large miniatures, but a small one at the foot of a page. Hulin has published an enlargement of it, and it evidently would not suffer by being even further magnified. Two small figures in front depict the Baptism of Christ, but here again these are a mere excuse. The real subject is the landscape, and how surpassingly fine it is! If one was to be spared, surely this is the one we must all have chosen. It is another river-view, not now at the mouth, but well up-stream. There is a castle on one shore and a few buildings on the other, but it is the river itself with its pleasant windings, its wooded banks, its mysterious and delightful distance—above all

[1] Another interpretation of the event depicted has been suggested, but is not generally accepted. It rests upon the disputed likeness of one of the horsemen to the Duke of Touraine.

it is the mirror surface of the water, and the light reflected from it, brightest furthest away, that gives to this little picture so complete a charm. The river disappears round a corner, and we see no more of it, but further off we can yet trace where it must be winding in the valley whose remoter intricacies are suggested rather than depicted. Away off there, and all within a space that can be covered by the top quarter of a penny postage stamp, are hills behind hills, a windmill against the sky on one side, another castle on the other, and all manner of bewitching intricacies of complex natural form, such as Turner knew how to suggest by a magic that seemed peculiarly his own, till we found it already practised here 400 years before him. Foreground details of rock and stone, bird, bush, and timber are no less carefully studied from nature; yet with all this accuracy of detail, almost scientific, the artistic unity of the whole is preserved, and we are forced to feel the impression of that unity first, before we can let our eyes delight in the factors composing it. The de Limbourg landscapes, even the best of them, are not for a moment comparable to any of these. They are carefully transcribed: these are created. Here is a truly original artist looking for the first time among men on the face of nature, realizing her beauty, and making, not nature, but the beauty of nature the subject of his art. Between this man and the de Limbourgs there is no comparison. They are mere executants, a kind of photographers mechanically opening to us a view into the past; but this man is a great originating genius, who shows us the Nature of no particular date, but that is always with us and in the hearts of those that love her. This is the Nature that was in his own heart, that had been transformed there, molten and recast there into a vision of beauty tied to no place or day but remaining lovely for all men and all time.

Who was this man? With one voice those who have right to an opinion replied (till Friedländer voiced a contrary opinion) Hubert van Eyck and no other. The painter of the Ghent altar-piece and the Richmond Three Maries, he and he alone at this time can be seriously thought of in connexion with such a masterpiece. Of course these were not his first efforts. Years of experience must have preceded so complete a mastery. The de Limbourgs made no such experiments. What their ideas of landscape were is shown

in many a page of the Chantilly Hours. On some they even mix the old corkscrew hills with bits of naturalistic scenery. I suggest that when the Duke of Bavaria went to France in 1414, he may have taken with him an example or examples of Hubert's landscape and showed them to the Duke of Berry in Paris. The Duke with his keen artistic appreciation at once perceived their merit. He sent for Pol de Limbourg, showed them to him, and then, pointing out of the window to the Louvre across the Seine and the Cité further round, said, "Paint me those views like this." Thus I conceive the Chantilly landscapes to have been inspired, unless, indeed, Hubert himself was of the party. In no case can the de Limbourgs have been the originators and Hubert the follower. The man who painted this wonderful river scene, the like of which had never been imagined before, can have been indebted to no one less great than himself for the idea. He painted thus from the forceful impulse of a new ideal rising within him, and that new ideal was a part of the great power that was destined in a few generations to turn the whole world upside down, and not merely to revolutionize art.

By the same artist as these four landscapes, whom I shall henceforward speak of as Hubert van Eyck, are other no less remarkable miniatures in the precious manuscript. Turn to the large miniature on the same page as this little river landscape. It depicts the birth of St. John Baptist as taking place in the bedchamber of a Flemish palace. Here for the first time is an interior drawn with some approach to correct perspective. We might have called attention to the remarkable perspective in the river landscape which none of the de Limbourg views even distantly approximate, but the novelty is better expressed in this beautiful interior. More remarkable still is the sense of atmosphere in the room and the gradations of light. A door is open into a passage and the eye travels back along that into and across another room behind. There are people in these distances, and the light falls upon or between them, giving the complete illusion of depth and distance. Peter de Hoogh over two hundred years later would not have attained a completer illusion. Moreover, room and passage contain furnishings and fittings—tables, benches, three-legged chairs, spinning-wheel, cushions, dinanderie, and what not—all charmingly and veraciously rendered. That, however, from the point of view of art is nothing

and less than nothing. What does matter is the unity of pictorial effect, the integral manner in which all these details are wrought together to a common co-operating effect of beauty. If no such chamber-interior had ever been depicted before, another extraordinarily like it was to be forthcoming a few years later. I refer to the room in which the Arnolfini pair stand in the National Gallery picture by John van Eyck. It is not the same room, but room and furniture are of similar style and both are transfused by the same admirable illumination. If Hubert van Eyck had not solved the problem as he did in this miniature and taught his secret to his younger brother, John would not have painted the Arnolfini interior as he did. The de Limbourg interior within which the Duke of Berry takes his New Year's feast is a far less excellent painting, though very decorative.

The miniature that illustrates the Vigils of the Dead introduces us into the choir of a Gothic church, well drawn for its date, but with the figures of men and women on much too large a relative scale. A similar church-interior, but taken from the nave, appears in the panel at Berlin in which a relatively colossal Virgin is standing with the Child in her arms. Hulin records that the type of architecture is Burgundian; unfortunately the actual church has not been identified.[1] The Berlin picture is by Hubert, and perhaps not much later in date than the miniature, or it is a copy by John van Eyck after a lost original.

We need not delay over the Finding of the Three Crosses by St. Helena, which would only confirm all that has been thus far set down, but we cannot dismiss without a word the large miniature of the Virgin surrounded by all the Holy Virgins (*omnes sanctæ virgines*) or the yet more important little miniature at the foot of the page. The former is delightful for the youthful sweetness and gentleness of its types—a characteristic which we shall hereafter find differentiating Hubert's Virgins and Babes from John's. At the foot of the page similar but more numerous saintesses are advancing in a landscape toward a little hill where the Lamb stands in a burst of golden rays. It is the selfsame composition which

[1] When, however, he suggests that the choir in miniature and picture are the same and taken from the same point of view, I am unable to follow him. They are similar, but taken from different points of view, and the two apses are different in design.

was more elaborately wrought out in the great Ghent altar-piece of the Adoration of the Lamb. The more elaborate version, however, loses something of the sweet simplicity so beautifully shared by all in the earlier bevy of maidens.

Finally this page is notable for the new type of border by which it is surrounded. The painter has almost entirely erased the ordinary foliated Gothic border, already drawn on the vellum before it came into his hands, and has substituted for it an elaborate leafy scroll-work on a much larger scale, including a polecat, a monkey, a peacock, an angel, and a dragon. Where did he get the idea for this ? Obviously from Italy —a country the artist may have already visited. Such borders were common in fourteenth century Italian manuscripts, examples of which must have been accessible in many libraries in the North.

Four other large miniatures, two burnt at Turin, two existing at Milan, were painted by another artist, obviously a pupil or follower of Hubert. It has been suggested that these are early works by John van Eyck, but they may have been added at a later date by an imitative miniaturist. They depict God the Father enthroned, the Pietà,[1] the Agony in the Garden, and the Crucifixion. Only the last need detain us. All fall below Hubert's work in achievement, though there is a fine little peep of landscape at the back of one of them, but their inferiority is greater in emotional power than in technique. This artist shows himself a painstaking craftsman, little more. There is no fire of human faith of any kind as yet visible in him. The Crucifixion miniature is interesting for its background, with the great walled city, the number of tiny individuals away off in the distance, peopling the roads, the many houses, the over-multiplication of visible windows, and the curious great tower, I suppose meant for the Dome of the Rock.[2] But

[1] The subject at the foot of the page, which Hulin could not identify, also puzzled Ruskin when he saw it in a picture ascribed to the youthful Carpaccio at Venice. It is an incident in the Legend of the Holy Cross, when the Queen of Sheba, instead of walking over a bridge made of the Holy Wood, preferred to wade through a stream to meet Solomon. See the twenty-fifth woodcut of the Boec van den Houte: Veldener at Kuilenburg, March 6, 1483, 4to.

[2] A rather close connexion exists between this miniature and a picture of the same subject which is in the Franchetti Collection at Venice, whereof there is an unfinished copy in the Museo Civico at Padua. The unknown painter was evidently a follower of Hubert van Eyck, and it has been suggested that he may have worked in Holland. See *Jahrb. d. Pr. Kss.*, 1902, p. 33, and 1905, p. 111.

what especially interests us is the remote mountainous distance, as of an Alpine range across the horizon, and in front of that a two-spired church, which looks remarkably South German or Swiss. The man who painted this landscape had seen the Alps. Of course it may have been designed by Hubert or imitated, as suggested at a later date, but if John painted it he had been within sight of the Alps during his journeyman years, and had actually sketched landscapes when on his travels. Hubert, then, had taught him to study landscape from that new point of view during his years of apprenticeship. This, however, is a conclusion I hesitate to draw, preferring rather to attribute these remarkable hills to a later imitator, who had knowledge of such a picture as the Rolin Madonna. John, in after life, when his brother was dead, painted little landscape. Evidently landscape did not attract him. If any of the pages of the Hours of Turin were by John, it was merely his hand that made them; they did not owe their conception to him, and least of all the landscapes.

A third hand, also of the Van Eyck school, identified by Hulin,[1] painted some charming little pictures, but this artist lacked the power of Hubert and the promise of John. It is tempting to imagine that here we have the hand of their sister Margaret, if they had a sister at all, whom a late tradition asserts to have been a painter. Her landscapes are nothing like as good as those of the others. To this hand four or perhaps five large miniatures[2] are attributed, and some small ones and initials. We need only glance at that wherein a pilgrim on horseback is seen in danger of highwaymen. It comes nearer to the style of the de Limbourgs than any other of the set. The background is a wood like that of Vincennes. The foreground is merely undulating grass. No part is closely studied from nature. A little bat of a devil lays the heads of two of the brigands together. But the pilgrim, a charming figure with sweet expression, rides quietly forward, praying, and Christ blesses him from above. It is all well enough, and in a less remarkable volume could pass muster, but it falls far below Hubert's level.

[1] I say third, not third and fourth, because his I and J must surely have been one and the same.

[2] Christ teaching, Christ blessing, a Pilgrim on horseback, a King in his tent, and perhaps St. Jerome in his cell.

When the work had reached this point the Duke of Bavaria died, and the Van Eycks' contribution came to an end. What happened afterwards scarcely interests us. We do not know into whose hands the volume passed, but about the middle of the fifteenth century the missing miniatures and initials were supplied and the whole was finished. It was again cut in two. Half of it passed into the possession of the House of Savoy, and so ultimately through the Turin Library into the flames; the other half entered the Trivulzio Library, probably about the beginning of the nineteenth century.[1]

[1] Since the foregoing was written I have been able to read Friedländer's essay on the Van Eycks in his aforementioned work. He adopts the theory that we possess no work of Hubert's (except what he may have done on the Ghent altar-piece) and that all the Van Eyck pictures and the important miniatures are the work of John. This conclusion makes nonsense of the inscription on the altar-piece, and falsifies the tradition of the school. Whatever else the inscription may or may not say it clearly asserts that there were two artists, brothers, the elder Hubert, the younger John, and it praises Hubert as the greatest of artists. Granted that this was an exaggeration and may be set down to the partiality and gratitude of a younger brother, who owed his teaching to the elder, it could not possibly have been allowed to appear on a picture painted for an influential donor, if it did not more or less express a contemporary opinion. It is a relatively late tradition that ascribes the "invention of oil-painting" to John. Neither brother painted in oils as we understand the phrase, but both employed on the Ghent altar-piece a new method of painting, which must therefore have been initiated by Hubert, though it was carried to a higher point of development by John after Hubert's death. Our conclusions have got to square with recorded facts. No critic, however great, in the twentieth century can wipe out an ancient record because it does not suit his conclusions. It is the conclusions that must be wrong. That there were two brothers, both great artists, is as certain as any recorded fact in the distant past can be. One was much older than the other and was the teacher of the other. The elder was a very great artist. Their approximate relative ages are known. One of them in or about 1416 painted the aforesaid river-landscape. It is the mature work of the inventor of modern landscape-painting. It implies not less than ten years and probably more like twenty of previous study and invention before such perfection could have been attained. The man who painted it must have been an originating artist by about 1400. At that time John cannot have been more than a very young child. It is further evident that the Van Eyck type of panel-painting developed out of a miniaturist school. It retained traces of that origin for a hundred years. It is only Hubert who was old enough to have his roots in the miniature school in the days of its culmination. When Jacques Bandol was painting an artist such as Hubert might have arisen from the ranks of the miniaturists, but not much later. John is a picture-painter from the start. His master must have been of the generation of the transition. The obliteration of Hubert from the record seems to me to confuse and render illogical the origins of the Netherlandish School of Painting. If Hubert were not a recorded personage we should have to invent an individual to take the place which he exactly fills.

CHAPTER V

HUBERT VAN EYCK

Written records tell us nothing about Hubert van Eyck before the last years of his life, but we are not therefore left entirely in the dark about him. A probably sound tradition asserts that he and John were born at Maaseyck. As we have just seen, he was working for Duke William of Bavaria from 1414, perhaps many years earlier, till the Duke's death in 1417. His younger brother John was his pupil. Before 1417 Hubert had made his great innovation in landscape; in the river-view he had carried the new art to a perfection never afterwards quite equalled by himself, and certainly not by anyone else for a century or more. In that picture too he had shown himself a master of atmospheric as well as of linear perspective, far in advance of any other painter in the North of Europe. If the painter of the river-view was not Hubert, we should have to postulate the existence of another and greater artist than he, who must have lived, revolutionized landscape-painting, learned and taught perspective, and died, without leaving a trace behind. It is nonsense to talk of the landscapes in the Hours of Turin as showing Hubert's "influence." They are either by him or by a greater. There is no alternative. If by him they are his best work of the kind. Here, then, we have a man at the top of his powers about 1416, who was to die ten years later, apparently not young. Obviously we may expect to find at least some other works remaining from his hand.

The great Ghent altar-piece of the Adoration of the Lamb is, we know, mainly his. Tradition and an inscription, which nobody can quite translate, assert that much. All existing documents and later statements and records of any weight have been duly brought together, printed, and commented on by Mr. Weale in his monumental work on the two brothers. The reader is referred to

that book for details, authorities, and references. The Ghent altar-piece and the other pictures, to which we shall presently refer, when compared with the panel-paintings of contemporary and older artists, are seen to have been executed by a new technical method. It used to be said that the Van Eycks invented oil-painting. The method in which these pictures are painted is not what modern artists understand by oil-painting, nor does it matter to us, who are not artists, but art-lovers (not cooks, but epicures), what the actual process was. The thing that is patent is that the process was novel, and that it came into use first in the days of Hubert and in pictures painted by him, while it was carried to greater perfection in later days by John. Pictures done in the new method look brighter, richer in tone, more enamel-like in surface, and are evidently less tender and more durable as well as more brilliant and jewel-like in colour than those of an earlier date. Thus Hubert was an innovator in technique as well as in the style and subjects of his art. Of his experimental stages we know nothing, nor how much John may have helped him.

The Adoration of the Lamb, with its nineteen large panels—large, that is to say, in comparison with most of the other panel-pictures by the brothers—must have taken many years to paint. It was finished at Ghent, May 6, 1432, for one Jodoc Vyt,[1] after the death of Hubert, who had left it incomplete to a greater or less degree, as to which the critics quarrel. The buildings in the background have suggested to ingenious experts that the altar-piece must have been designed and begun for someone who lived within the diocese of Utrecht and ecclesiastical province of Cologne. The County of Holland is so situated, but Ghent, where Vyt lived and died and set up the picture, is not. Hence it has been suggested that the picture was designed and begun for Duke William of Bavaria, Count of Holland; that it was interrupted at his death, and left on the painter's hands when he moved to Ghent; that it was taken in hand again for Jodoc Vyt by Hubert, and again interrupted when Hubert died; and that finally it was finished by John in the year 1432, as aforesaid. But the experienced

[1] For a life of Vyt see *Bull. Soc. d'hist. de Gand*, xv, p. 84. He took in hand in 1420 the decoration of the chapel in St. Bavon's for which the altar-piece was painted. He was a very rich man.

Hulin has pointed out that great altar-pieces were not usually a princely weakness. Those we know about, belonging to this school and century, were ordered and paid for either by religious corporations or by rich individuals, local or foreign. Financiers and merchants were tempted to this kind of expense, not princes.

The picture itself is so well known, and reproductions of it are so easily accessible (an excellent water-colour copy is in the National Gallery) that I do not waste plates on photographs of it here. All the interior panels, when the wings are open, unite to illustrate the following passages from the Apocalypse of St. John :

" I looked, and, lo, a Lamb stood on the Mount Sion, and with him an hundred and forty and four thousand, having his Father's name written in their foreheads. And I heard a voice from Heaven as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder ; and I heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps : and they sung as it were a new song before the throne, and before the four beasts, and the elders : and no man could learn that song but the hundred and forty and four thousand, which were redeemed from the earth. . . . These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. These were redeemed from among men, being the first-fruits unto God and to the Lamb. And in their mouth was found no guile : for they are without fault before the throne of God."

And again :

" I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands. . . These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Therefore are they before the throne of God ; and he shall feed them, and shall lead them to living fountains of waters, and shall wipe away all tears from their eyes."

Upon the principal panel below is the Adoration of the Lamb ; on the lower panels of the wings on either side of it are the Just Judges and the Knights, the Saints and the Hermits advancing to adore. The noble figure of Christ, King of Heaven, seated between the Virgin and John Baptist (as He is usually represented in pictures of the Last Judgment), occupies the upper central portion, whilst

in the corresponding parts of the wings on either side are choirs of playing and singing angels, and Adam and Eve representing the fallen, as the Virgin and John the redeemed, human race.

Among the knights are St. Michael and St. George, St. Maurice and Charlemagne. Knights and judges together represent the two sides of the active life.[1] The hermits and pilgrims, devoted to a life of contemplation, are opposed to them on the other wing. All four parties move along tortuous ways through a beautiful country toward the mystic altar of the Lamb. The nearer they approach, the more richly is the country wooded, and the clearer and purer is the overarching sky. About the altar itself on every side flowers burst into joyful bloom—violets and pansies, cowslips, daisies, and lilies of the valley, all in their fairest colours. Behind are purple flags, lilies, roses, and vines in fullest strength of life and glow of blossom; no stricken bud, no blighted leaf, no withered flower among them, for they grow in the soil of Paradise, where there is no decay. Even the stones in the brook are jewels, and the water of life washes them.

Those who have already arrived are grouped in adoration on either side of the altar. Ranged in front are the Apostles, fourteen in number, including Paul and Barnabas; behind are Popes, Bishops, and a body of the faithful. Over against them are the ancient prophets, those of the Jews in front, those of the Gentiles (including Homer, Plato, and Aristotle) ranked behind, all alike inspired by the rays of spiritual illumination which fall from the hovering Dove. The fountain of life is placed in front, and the water of it flows through the ages along its jewelled bed. Behind, among the rose bushes, are the holy martyrs with palm branches in their hands; among the lilies opposite to them are the martyred virgins, led by Barbara, Agnes, Catherine, and Dorothy. Angels with gorgeous rainbow-coloured wings kneel round about the altar, some in contemplation holding the instruments of the Passion, some in adoration gazing on the emblem of Divine love, some swinging their censers, the symbols of prayer, till they touch the words em-

[1] Suggestions have been made that the heads of some of these figures and others on the neighbouring panel may be portraits—of the Duke of Berry, of the Emperor John VI Paleologus, and so forth. No general agreement has been arrived at. What one critic asserts, another denies.

broidered in letters of gold, "Jesus the Way, the Truth, and the Life." As the keynote to the whole composition the painter has written, along the front of the altar, this text from his Latin Testament: "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world."

Evidently we are confronted in these panels with an elaborated "Paradise picture" such as the Cologne artists had been the first to paint under the influence of the Mystics. Their paradises were in a less mundane region than this; their saints and prophets were less human. But the spirit that breathes through all is the same. It is not the concrete spirit of France that meets us in Hubert's dream of heaven, but the mystic imaginings of the Rhine. That some direct influence from Cologne artists had reached Hubert is proved by the more than chance resemblances which can be traced between his Virgin in a Church and Meister Stephan's well-known Virgin belonging to the Archbishop of Cologne.

Over the principal landscape panel are three others, each containing a large single figure. The central one is Christ as King of Heaven, with countenance majestically calm, intellectual power in the forehead, mild deep eyes, a strong hand, a dignified pose. The word Sabaoth can be read on the embroidered edge of His robe. He is crowned with a triple diadem as Lord of Heaven; His hand grasps a sceptre; the royal crown of earthly sovereignty is at His feet. Heaven is His throne; earth His footstool. The symbol of self-sacrifice—the Pelican nourishing her young with flesh plucked from her own breast—is embroidered on the curtain behind. Below His feet is this inscription: "In His head life without death; on His forehead youth without age; joy without sorrow on His right hand; security without fear on His left."

Scarcely less beautiful is the figure of the Virgin, the representative of all glorified women, as John Baptist of all glorified men. Specially interesting is the symbolism of her crown. The hair represents the strength of life, and the crown the obedience to Divine law that governs and restrains it. The Nazarite, who devoted himself to the Lord, let his hair grow in token that his life was no longer his own, to order it according to his pleasure. The Pagan cast a lock of his hair into the sacred river of his land, or burnt it to his god in the sacrificial fire, as a sign of his self-

dedication. The fillet, therefore, that binds the hair symbolizes the obedience to eternal law which binds the life; thus the crown primarily symbolizes obedience, and only secondarily command, because he alone is fit to order others who himself has learnt to obey. "He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God; and he shall be as the light of morning when the sun ariseth." The crown of thorns is the parent of all others, and they, like it, alone become glorious by obedient wearing, even as the rod of martyrdom is changed into the martyr's palm.

The most beautiful virtue of the Virgin, to the mediæval mind, was her humility, and the symbol of that was the lily of the valley. "The Lord has regarded the lowliness of his handmaiden." Her crown is a crown of lowliness, a ring of wild and humble flowers—the lily of the valley, the wild rose, and the rod lily, which the Angel of the Annunciation always bears. But in sign of her great reward the binding fillet of lowly obedience glitters with rubies and topaz and pearls; the humble flowers toss themselves up in their joy, and are strong with unfading vigour; the lilies and the harebells hold up their heads in the fulness of a larger life; the petals of the wild roses glow with richer tones. And above the blossoms glitter their brothers of the night, a sevenfold coronal of stars. The crown of humility has become a crown of glory too.

When the wings are closed we see the Annunciation, taking place in a room in Ghent, for there is a view of the Rue Courte-du-jour seen through the window.[1] Not long ago a large house in the Rue de Gouvernement was demolished, revealing the old walls of a building believed to have belonged to Jodoc Vyt. On its third floor a square window was discovered, of Romanesque type, exactly answering in position to the window in the picture. In the lower panels of the closed wings are the kneeling portraits of Jodoc Vyt and his wife, and statues of the two St. Johns. Prophets and Sibyls fill the lunettes over the Annunciation.

As I have said, the critics quarrel over the respective shares of the work done by Hubert and John respectively. Without attempting to divide them in detail two facts are fairly obvious. The first is that the design of the whole was Hubert's. It is a single conception, and all the parts hang together with one exception.

[1] Mr. Weale thought the view was in Bruges.

This brings us to the second secure fact. The figures of Adam and Eve are, in form, spirit, scale, and all else, entirely out of keeping with the rest. Whoever designed the whole did not design these. Whoever painted or directed the painting of the rest did not paint these. They belong to another world of art. Doubtless figures of the parents of the human race were intended by the man who ordered the altar-piece to occupy these positions, but Hubert would have made them range in scale with the playing and singing angels in the neighbouring panels, and assuredly did not intend them to be characterized by the coarse and hideous naturalism of these two wonderful but unlovely nudes. There is a similar discrepancy between the room interior on the other faces of these same panels, and the interior behind the Virgin and angel. They are not all parts of the same room. The horizontal lines do not fit straight across, and the lobby or gallery seen through the windows on right and left is inconsistent with the absence of any end wall, as of a tower or other termination to close the chamber on the left, which should have been visible through the open window. We may guess, therefore, that these two panels were not only painted, but redesigned by John after Hubert's death, and the Adam and Eve in every respect confirm that conclusion. As for all the rest, we need not trouble. John may have helped with this or the other panel, finished this or the other figure, but if he did he was carrying out the design of Hubert in entire subordination to him, and all the praise is Hubert's, not John's.

There is one more anomaly pointing to a change of design. When the wings are open it will be observed that all the upper row of panels except those of Adam and Eve are designed with a perspective which implies that the spectator is at a higher level than their floor. We look down upon the pavement under the feet of the three great figures and the playing and singing angels; but our eye is below the level of the ground on which Adam and Eve stand. Here, then, is an obvious change of design which points beyond question to the intervention of a painter who did not design the rest. Similarly, when the wings are closed we look up to the four figures of Sibyls and Prophets at the top, but down on all the rest. A stronger proof could hardly be desired to indicate the limits of the independent work of the two brothers.

In Hubert's Ghent period, John was not his assistant as he may have been when they worked for Duke William. Duke William died, as has been stated, in 1417. It used to be believed that both brothers were received into the Ghent painters' guild in 1419, but the copy of the records of that Guild no longer commands confidence. It is likely that, on the death of his patron, Hubert moved elsewhere at once, possibly to Ghent. John at any rate was not at Ghent between October 24, 1422 and September 11, 1424; for during that interval, and probably earlier, he was in the service of John of Bavaria, Count of Holland, at The Hague, and probably so continued till the death of the Count on January 5, 1425. Four months later John was appointed Court painter to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, and thereupon took up his residence at Bruges. But enough of these wearisome details! Broadly speaking, we may guess that when Duke William died John was taken over by his successor, and that when that patron died he passed into the service of Philip the Good. He can therefore have had but little share in the Adoration except perhaps in its very earliest, and certainly in its latest stages.

We must now go back to the earlier pictures, for this necessary consideration of the Adoration has brought us to the close of Hubert's life before we are ready to take leave of him and his works.

The will, dated 1413, of Jean de Visch, who was "grand bailli" of Flanders, bequeaths a picture by Hubert. Doubtless many other paintings were made by him before that. The following, in addition to the Adoration, are some pictures attributed to him:

The Virgin and Child in a Church, in Berlin Kaiser Friedrich Museum, or the original from which it was imitated.

The Crucifixion, in Berlin, K.F.M.

The (lost) original of the Virgin and Child by a Fountain, in Berlin, K.F.M.

The (lost) original of the Fountain of Living Water, at Madrid.

The Three Maries at the Sepulchre, in the Cook Collection at Richmond.

The Steenken Madonna, in the Gustave Rothschild Collection, Paris (date *c.* 1418).

St. Francis, in the Johnson Collection, Philadelphia; a repetition of it at Turin.[1]

The Crucifixion and Last Judgment, wings of a lost Adoration of the Magi,[2] in the Hermitage, Petrograd.

The Rolin Madonna in the Louvre.

The small triptych at Dresden.

In the Adoration and several of the pictures the flora, accurately painted by someone who had direct knowledge of the plants and trees from personal observation, includes the following: the Olive, the bitter or Seville Orange, the Cypress, the Umbrella or Stone Pine, the Date Palm, and the Dwarf Palm or Palmetto (*Chamærops humilis*). The stone-pine is common in Central Italy. All the others are said to be found in South Italy. Again, in several of these pictures we find views of the Alps in the background, similar to that on one of the pages of the Hours of Turin. Mr. Weale also brought together the following noteworthy observations collected from various students. The figure of a man in a white toga and crowned with laurel in the foreground of the Adoration is borrowed from the antique; so is a bronze statuette of Mars in the Steenken Madonna. A capital in the Dresden triptych shows sculptured decoration obviously suggested by a bas-relief on some Roman sarcophagus. The figures of the Virgin and John in the Berlin Crucifixion are derived from a Giottesque model. Architectural details in the Steenken Madonna are Italian in style, while the buildings in the background of it "include an unmistakable view of old St. Paul's (London) and a number of battlemented towers with pinnacles at the angles of a decidedly English character." If, then, Hubert painted many of these pictures, he must have been a considerable traveller. Nothing quickens the observation and delight in natural scenery like travel. Many a man who has taken his home scenery for granted and paid little attention to its beauty has been awakened to delight in nature by contact with what to him are novel kinds of country. How many, like Ruskin, may still

[1] The existence of a pair of pictures of St. Francis, which might conceivably be these, is vouched for by the will of Anselmo Adornes of 1470, who devised such pictures to his two daughters. Wings were to be added to them with portraits of himself and his wife. *Archives des arts*, etc., 1st series, t. i, p. 269.

[2] See *Burlington Magazine*, August 1911, p. 256. If this picture belonged to John Duke of Berry (Durrieu in *Gaz. B.-A.*, i, 1920, pp. 77–105) it must date before 1416.

date their " entry into life " from their first sight of the Alps ! Was it the splendour of the mountains that aroused in Hubert the desire to depict them and other natural objects, and so led him to become the first true landscape artist ?

But he may have wandered yet further afield. In the background of three pictures – the Crucifixion in the Hours of Turin, that in the Berlin Museum, and the Richmond Three Maries— there are cities intended to represent Jerusalem. All three show a great building, evidently intended for the Dome of the Rock. In the first two this building is purely imaginary, but the third is drawn or copied from a drawing by a man who had seen it and taken notes of it on the spot. Hubert, say some, obtained a drawing of it from a pilgrim. It is conceivable but improbable, for the reason that no one before Hubert himself is known to have made landscape drawings. A few years later it would have been different. Hubert's introduction of landscape drawing opened a new age, and a generation or two later there were plenty of people who might have thought of bringing home from their travels views of important sights or buildings. Thus in 1486 Erhard Reuwich published at Mayence Bernard von Breydenbach's account of his pilgrimage to the Holy Places and illustrated it with woodcuts, one of which depicts, for the first time in any book, Jerusalem as some member of the party drew it. Even then such representations were novelties. Pilgrimages to Jerusalem were common in the fifteenth century. Several courtiers of Burgundy went there under the leadership of Bertrandon de la Brocquière in the years 1432–3 – a kind of personally conducted party – and there were plenty of such pilgrimages. It is just possible that Hubert was a member of such a party.

Whether Hubert himself visited Jerusalem and sketched the Mosque of Omar or not, it remains an important fact that to the best of his ability he placed the event he had to depict as occurring in a definite locality. But he went further. The Three Maries visited the Sepulchre at break of day. No artist had troubled himself about such details before. They had been content to express the religious emotion which an event was supposed to embody. Hubert set himself to realize the event as an historical fact. Hence, in his picture, it is the hour of dawn. The sun has just risen, but

is hidden from view by crags in the foreground. The low light catches brightly a distant building on a hill-top, less brightly the domes and pinnacles of the city. Eastward the sky is full of warm illumination, but to the south it is cold — only the tops of cumulus clouds in that direction being lofty enough to catch the light.

The original of the Fountain of Living Water was in the Chapel of St. Jerome in Palencia Cathedral up to 1783. It had disappeared before 1815. In composition it presents features in common with the Adoration of the Lamb. Its three-staged design appears to have been borrowed from the mystery plays. On the lowest tier, in front on the left, is a kneeling man with hands raised. The same man is portrayed in a little fragment in Berlin, supposed to be part cut from a larger picture. There is no reason to think that they are portraits of the artist, still less that the smiling horseman prominent in the Adoration is Hubert or the youth behind him John. If the painter has anywhere introduced his own or his brother's portrait, it is further to the left, but one of the two individuals squeezed in there was probably the donor. The ascription of this picture to Hubert is, however, not entirely convincing. Christ, the Virgin, and St. John fall in dignity far below corresponding figures in the Adoration, and can scarcely have been designed by him. They are more like John's less inspired creations. That whoever composed the picture was working under Hubert's influence is at least probable. It is, however, evident that the artist who painted the picture, were he even Luis Dalmau of Valencia, was carrying on the traditions of Hubert, and perhaps working directly under his influence. We have, however, only a copy to go by, and deductions from copies are insecure.

That Hubert was a good portrait-painter is demonstrated by the kneeling donors on the outside of the wings of the Adoration. Poor old Jodoc Vyt is a wholly credible personage of feeble intelligence and weak character, who must have owed much of his success in life to the powerful, competent, and sweet woman whom he had the luck to marry. A man's portrait at Hermannstadt, to be dated before 1425 or even 1420 by the fashion of the hat, is by some likewise ascribed to Hubert. Others have wished to attribute to him the " Esquire of the Order of St. Anthony " at Berlin, one of the finest of the whole group of Van Eyck portraits; while the fat

donor in the Leipzig Gallery has been seen and rendered very much like Vyt in the Adoration wing.[1]

All the works attributable to Hubert bring us into contact, not only with a great artist of original genius and high imagination, but with a man of noble and attractive nature. The serenity and gentleness of his Virgins and saints, the tenderness of his children, the sweet and wholesome atmosphere of the world in which his fancy played, are all clear evidences of his own nature. If in painting the Adoration of the Lamb he had the direction of some learned cleric, as is probable, it is no less certain that the pictorial conception of the whole, its great unity as the embodiment of an imaginative theme, were his and his only. The various parts and personages are not fitted together to order—this saint here, that Apostle there; they have, as it were, crystallized into form and place inevitably as the outcome of the creative rather than the constructive power of a many-sided man of genius. Few artists have left their mark more indelibly upon the generations that followed them. Painters in the Low Countries, and after them those of France, contentedly for several generations followed the lines he laid down. They adopted and elaborated his technique. They learnt from him to look with fresh eyes on the world of nature and man about them, and to embody their dreams and recognitions of beauty in the forms of nature herself. It appears that they soon forgot Hubert's name and credited their indebtedness to his younger brother, but Hubert lived on in them all the same, and his works remain, even to the present day, a delight to all lovers of art, and an influence upon artists which is still far from worn out.[2]

[1] A little panel of St. George and the Dragon, belonging to General de Plaoutine and recently shown at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, is a marvel of minute painting in detail. It recalls some of the best miniatures in the Hours of Turin, but surpasses them and all other pictures of the Van Eyck period in microscopic finish. In Weale's Van Eyck it is attributed to Hubert. Mr. Roger Fry (*The New Statesman*, Jan. 1, 1921) attributes it to a miniaturist working in the tradition of Campin, but of this tradition I could discover no trace.

[2] For information about artists, contemporary with Hubert, working at Ghent, see L. Macterlinck, *Une école primitive inconnue*, Brussels, 1913. Several documents are there published proving that Hubert was at the head of a large and active studio which contracted for great schemes of decoration and especially for the entire decoration of Vyt's chapel (including the stained glass window) and (in 1425-6) for Robert Poortier's chapel in St. Saviour's, Ghent.

CHAPTER VI

JOHN VAN EYCK

When Hubert van Eyck died in 1426 it is possible and even likely that he left behind him other unfinished work beside the Adoration of the Lamb. Such may have been the condition of the Virgin of Chancellor Rolin, a famous picture in the Louvre; such perhaps also that of the Dresden triptych. The landscape in the former must surely be Hubert's. John did not paint landscapes of that kind, so far as we can judge. M. de Mely seems to have proved that the view is of the city of Lyons seen from the monastery of Ainay, looking up the Saône past the Île Barbe to the distant Alps. On the other hand, the hard and unspiritual Virgin, the tubby graceless Child are John's all over, and so is the grim head of the Chancellor. It is, however, the landscape here that enraptures every beholder. The figures belong to the solid earth on which John firmly stood, his eyes steadily fixed on the men and women of his day.[1]

The same dignified and picturesque architecture of Romanesque character, which perhaps made its first appearance in Hubert's Steenken Madonna, is likewise found in other pictures attributable to John beside the Dresden Madonna. Thus it is a prominent feature in the Annunciation at Petrograd and in the Rolin Madonna, in both of which Hubert may have had a hand, as well as in the Pala and Maelbeke Madonnas of 1436 and 1441, which of course were wholly John's. Hubert at all events was the first to employ it, and that in a day when nobody else thought of anything but Gothic. The fact that antique elements are found in combination with this round-arched architecture when used by Hubert may supply an explanation. In Italy, it is to be supposed, Hubert saw and was pleased by the remains of Roman buildings. Classical architecture

[1] Hulin in *Bull. Soc. d'Hist. de Gand*, xv, p. 91, cites a record of a portrait by John van Eyck of the year 1414, representing a Moorish king; but he questions the date.

attracted him, as at this very time it was attracting the most advanced artists of Italy. He had not time (it was a life-work even for Leo Battista Alberti) to master the principles of that style, but the round arch, at all events, made its form agreeable to him. On his return home there were no Roman buildings for him to imitate, so he fell back upon Romanesque, and if he had now to paint a Virgin and Child in a church we may be sure that he would have chosen a Romanesque, not a Gothic church to enclose her, though a tower of Italian Gothic type appears in the Steenken Madonna.

John seems to have been less attracted by Romanesque than his brother. The Petrograd Annunciation and the Dresden triptych may have been designed and begun by Hubert, or if wholly by John, then at a time when Hubert's influence over him was fresh and strong. Hubert, however, would hardly have inserted into the latter the Gothic canopies we there find. Some years later John, as we shall see, after having given full fling to his own preferences, seems to have been drawn again towards some of the forms and feelings of his dead brother's works, and it was then that he again employed the Romanesque architecture, which in his paintings of the intervening period had been entirely replaced by Gothic.

The respective shares of Hubert and John in the Dresden triptych and the Petrograd Annunciation need not be further defined than thus : in the former the pervading spirit is clearly Hubert's, less clearly in the latter. In both, however, Hubert's ideal is dominant. Where, as in the Adoration, the two brothers painted different parts, each after his own design, a striking contrast is evident. To most people of to-day John's Adam and Eve are a blot on that picture. In fairness let us here record that these two figures were the most admired part of it in the old days. Dürer noted of this picture that " it is a most precious painting, full of thought, and the Eve, Mary, and God the Father are specially good." I have read that it was popularly called the " Adam and Eve picture," which if true shows the public taste. The reason for this high reputation was, of course, because here for the first time were two nude human figures veraciously studied from life, and truthfully depicted in every detail. These were not imaginary, but actual human beings. The thing that has never been done before is always astonishing, but it does not follow that, in art, it

is beautiful or worth doing again. Moreover, the figures are raised aloft and correctly foreshortened, as Hubert's three great figures were not. It was all a wonder in its day, but none to us. Photography will do that kind of thing every bit as well, while, if you want the mere facts of life, the cinematograph will give them to you yet more completely. Art has higher functions than the exact rendering of visible things, as was recognized long before the present much bephotographed days.

Some bare facts, gleaned from archives and the like storehouses, are known about John van Eyck's life after he entered the service of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, on May 19, 1425.[1] Soon after that date he was sent to live at Lille in a house the Duke rented for him, but he was often away. Thus in 1426 he went on a pilgrimage for the Duke and on two secret missions, one of them perhaps wife-hunting. In 1428 he accompanied the Duke's great wife-hunting embassy to Portugal, his business being to paint the Lady Isabella, the King's daughter. He sent home by sea and land two portraits of her. There was a long delay before an answer could be received from the Duke. The embassy employed the interval journeying about Spain and visiting various courts and cities. The negotiations being finally successful, the Duke's marriage with Princess Isabella was solemnized by deputy. Bride and embassy returned to Flanders together, suffering much from sea-sickness, being nearly wrecked off Land's End, and experiencing many other adventures on the way. They reached her new home in December 1429, and another and more splendid marriage ceremony was performed between Philip and Isabella in person. It was in honour of this event that the Duke of Burgundy founded the Knightly Order of the Golden Fleece. John van Eyck now settled at Bruges in great good favour with his patron. He bought a house, and presently married a lady named Margaret, but her family name is forgotten. Her portrait and that of John Arnolfini's wife look like those of sisters. She bore a child in 1434, to whom the Duke was godfather; at least one more was born later. In 1435 John painted six of the statues on the exterior of Bruges Town Hall. Next year he went on another secret mission for the Duke. In 1441 he died, and his widow received a pension.

[1] Set forth in full detail in Weale's *Van Eyck*, q.v.

If it were not for his existing pictures all the above laboriously collected information would enable us to know little about the kind of person John van Eyck was. But the pictures are eloquent enough. If all of them could be brought together into a room, most persons who saw them would agree in preferring the small pictures to the large ones, and the portraits, as a group, to the religious subjects. Let us, then, take the portraits first. Any one of the following may be accepted as example of the rest and doubtless also of the many more which time has utterly devoured or are only now insufficiently represented by copies.

1431. Cardinal Albergati, Vienna; drawing for it at Dresden.
1432. The "Leal Souvenir" portrait of a man, National Gallery.
1433. The Man in a Red Turban, National Gallery.
1434. John Arnolfini and Wife, National Gallery.
1434, or perhaps later. Half-length of John Arnolfini, Berlin K.F.M.
1435 ? Baldwin de Lannoy, Berlin K.F.M.
1436 or earlier. George van der Paele, Hampton Court.
1436. John de Leeuw, Vienna.
1439. Margaret, John van Eyck's wife, Bruges Museum.
An Esquire of the Order of St. Anthony, Berlin K.F.M.
A donor, half-length, Leipzig.
Bust portrait of a man with a sharp nose, Johnson Collection, Philadelphia.

They are a ruthless set of portraits, each individual beheld, and then not merely depicted, but judged beyond all appeal. Cardinal Albergati emerges well from the trial; a man of strong character, in whom we note the marks of a tumultuous nature brought under control; a diplomatist, capable, thoughtful, and resolute; a great contrast to the low-bred and rather stupid though good-tempered subject of the Leal Souvenir. The red-turbaned man, who may have been John van Eyck himself (it looks like a portrait done from a mirror), is the finest of the series, the subtlest, the most finished. Here is a wary, observant, and canny person, refined, not likely to

go blundering through the world, but to tread delicately and without tripping in the difficult ways of courts and courtiers, if that should be where the chances of life took him. As for Arnolfini—the Lord deliver us from being caught as debtors to the like of him! A sharp man of business if ever there was one, jesuitical, mean, sly, and self-satisfied; nevertheless there is reason to think that he and John van Eyck got along well together. Baldwin de Lannoy, who went on that wife-hunting expedition for the Duke to Portugal, is a man of very different type—grim, determined, narrow perhaps, but trustworthy. What he undertook he would accomplish, the Fates permitting. John de Leeuw in his turn impresses the spectator as a quiet person, gentle, affectionate, perhaps sentimental, observant rather than pushing. He was a rich goldsmith of Bruges, but the ring in his hand refers rather to an approaching marriage than to his craft. His wife will probably be a happier woman than Arnolfini's. As for Margaret van Eyck, her husband may be reckoned fortunate; she possesses considerable intelligence and discernment, no little determination, and probably some quiet humour. She will make a capable housewife and sensible companion. Thus we might go on. Each picture tells its story so plainly that any competent novelist could set all these individuals talking for us without the least difficulty. An imaginary conversation between them by Landor would be worth pages of descriptive writing. With the exception of the Arnolfinis, who stand full-length in their own beautifully furnished room, all the others are busts or half-lengths without accessories. The Arnolfini room existed when Mr. Weale lived at Bruges, and the very ring remained in the beam from which the chandelier used to hang—but the chandelier was gone. What a pity!

John's small Madonnas likewise possess great charm for their jewel-like quality, and the perfection with which they are finished. In the Madonna of Ince Hall, of 1433, both Virgin and Child possess much of the sweetness we have learnt to associate with the work of Hubert, and surely nothing could be more delightfully painted than the little accessories and furnishings of the chamber. Unfortunately no photograph does this delightful panel any approach to justice. The Frankfurt Madonna of the same year reveals John almost at his ugliest as a painter of children, though in the Paele

Altar-piece, finished in 1436, he was to reach a lower depth. Everyone is ugly in that yet splendid work, and everyone except St. Donatien is more or less awkward. The aged donor is altogether mercilessly portrayed, a lump of a man, coarse, self-indulgent, a narrow-minded bigot of little intelligence. As for his patron, St. George, the best he can do in approaching the Throne is to take off his hat with an awkward gesture and point to his unattractive protégé. But St. George's armour is superb, and so is all else except the people in this astounding picture. There is a still uglier bust-portrait of the same donor, an original study done on canvas, in the Gallery at Hampton Court; perhaps what we behold in the altar-piece is the best Van Eyck could make of him, working at leisure upon his sketch from life. That this picture was highly considered is shown by several echoes and imitations of it in subsequent works of art, painted as far off as Avignon.

More delightful than the most charming of the foregoing, or at least as delightful as the Madonna of Ince Hall, is a little Virgin by a fountain in Antwerp Museum, which bears the date 1439. Here John is almost copying Hubert, and is entirely reproducing Hubert's types of Virgin and Child; but he invents a new and better background—a richly woven hanging or dorser, upheld by two fluttering angels, the very butterflies of Heaven, and behind them a garden-bank with a hedge of flowers at its back. It may have been Petrus Christus who so carefully copied this Madonna group, setting it within a sculptured Gothic niche, in a picture, once Beresford Hope's, but now in the Metropolitan Museum at New York.[1]

I have referred among the works of Hubert to the charming little panel-picture of the Virgin, standing in the nave of a Gothic church, which is one of the most precious jewels of the Berlin Museum. Perhaps this also is a late work by John, copying Hubert, and should be grouped with the Virgin by the Fountain. A similar church, as has been noted, appears in one of Hubert's miniatures (at Milan) in the Hours of Turin, but the treatment of the architecture in the panel-picture, with its beautiful display of the

[1] Mr. Weale (p. 161) cites me as stating that this picture was "painted by John himself," but he does not state, and of course did not know, that in so asserting I was merely setting down what he himself had told me, I at that time not having seen the picture.

incidence of light and its improved perspective, points to the intervention of the hand and intelligence of John. A careful silver-point drawing of the same subject, differing in some details from the picture, was published in the Prussian Museums Annual for 1915, the writer claiming it as the handwork of John himself. The excellent reproduction does not suffice to guarantee this contention, which may, however, be upheld if the drawing itself stands mature examination and obtains a consensus of approval. The Berlin picture has every appearance of being the left half of a diptych. It was well copied as such by a good Bruges artist in the year 1499, the pendant being the portrait of Christian de Hondt, Abbot of the Dunes (Antwerp Museum).

A singular work, by all accepted as Van Eyck's, is the delightful monochrome drawing on panel of St. Barbara in Antwerp Museum. It is signed, and dated 1437. The lady, a handsomely dressed Flemish girl, is seated on the ground with a book in her lap and a palm branch in her hand. She is just a typical Van Eyck figure. But what is not at all typically Van Eyck is the elaborately drawn landscape full of busy little figures in front, with countless fields stretching away to a remote distance and hill-town by a river. These little people are all co-operating to build for St. Barbara a colossal Gothic tower of finest fifteenth century character, raised magically without scaffolding. There are cranes and workmen on the top still carrying it up, but of course so intricate a structure could not thus have been built. That, however, is of no consequence. We are in fairy-land where ordinary rules do not apply. Unfortunately the sky has been covered with a mess of blue. Apart from it, the delicacy of intricate lines by which the whole is wrought out is just so much magic. But was it John who drew them? One may reply, who else could? If it was he, then here at the end of his days we find another return to the preferences of Hubert, for this landscape would have delighted him. As a landscape composition it is not at all in his style. There are none of his hills, and there is much more happening than in any of his foregrounds. Perhaps John was asked thus to treat the subject. Did he intend to colour the picture, but left it incomplete? We can hardly think so. It is the blue sky that was not intended. John probably left it as he intended it to be, an outline drawing on a prepared panel,

a sheer *tour de force*, which neither he nor anyone else was likely to repeat.

Beside portraits and religious pictures [1] John van Eyck is also recorded [2] to have painted a globe of the world with all known countries correctly depicted upon it according to the science of his day, and some *genre* pictures. Such was a picture of a bath-room with a lady coming from the bath. She was but "slightly veiled with fine linen drapery," and her back was reflected in a mirror. There was also a wonderful landscape background. The description of this lost painting suggests to everyone who has seen a curious, finely painted little panel in Leipzig Museum that that may be a copy of another work of the same class by the master. There is the nude woman, the light drapery, a dog, a landscape through the window, but no bath, for this is not a bathing scene but some incident of witchcraft concerned with operations on a wax heart. Lord Huntingfield's Collection contains a painting by Van Haecht that introduces us into the interior of an art-gallery, with sculptures around on the floor and pictures on the walls. When this was shown at an Old Masters' Exhibition at Burlington House (1907) everyone recognized one of these pictures as probably a Van Eyck. It depicts another nude lady at her toilet standing beside her washing-basin. A convex mirror hangs on the window mullion, and there are other accessories beside the lady's maid who stands near her mistress, fully clothed in a stout red dress, a very superior kind of maid indeed.

The last picture begun by John van Eyck, and left unfinished when he died in July 1441, was a triptych, ordered by Nicholas van Maelbeke, the twenty-ninth provost of St. Martin's, Ypres (1429–45). Sketches in Nuremberg and the Albertina show how far work on the central panel had progressed, and relieve Van Eyck from responsibility for the terrible portrait of the donor. Both Virgin and Child again recall the tender types of Hubert, and so does the Romanesque architecture, but the pictures on the wings cannot

[1] A lost example among the latter, referred to in a recently discovered document, is a picture of St. George on horseback (panel, four by three palms), "de mestre Johannes, lo gran pintor del illustre duch de Burgunya," bought on May 2, 1444 by a Valencian merchant for the King (Alfonso V). See José Sanchis y Sivera, *Pintores mediævales en Valencia*, Barcelona, 1914, as quoted by A. L. Mayer, *Monatshefte*, vii, 1914, p. 298.

[2] Weale, pp. 174 ff.

even have been designed by John. It is, however, impossible to judge a work so tampered with in its own day and so badly handled since. No one would have suggested John van Eyck's name in connexion with it had not the historical record been convincing. Mr. Weale considered that, if John had lived to complete it, it would have been his masterpiece; I cannot share that conviction.

It is asserted that in this picture the perspective is for the first time correct, the lines converging toward a single vanishing point. Hubert discovered, or was taught, the theory of a vanishing point for separate parts of a picture, but he never arrived at using less than two vanishing points in a single composition. Even Broederlam had learned that parallel lines in a single horizontal plane should have a vanishing point, a principle applied in the fourteenth century in the School of Siena, from which he may have derived it, but both Hubert and John generally employed separate vanishing points for lines in different horizontal planes. When these points happened to come near together, as in the Rolin Madonna, the perspective is almost correct. It used to be said that the Frankfurt Madonna of 1457 by Petrus Christus is the earliest dated example of the use of a single vanishing point in the North of Europe; but it was difficult to believe that so unimaginative and unoriginal an artist as Christus should have been to that extent inventive. We can accept the advance readily enough at the hand and from the intelligence of John van Eyck, for his art bristles with intelligence. Here, then, we have him carrying forward the studies and inventions of his elder brother, as he likewise improved and developed the new style of laying on colours which Hubert had originated. On the elder brother's death the younger seems for a time to have emancipated himself from the potent influence under which his early years were passed. In the Adam and Eve he appears to have abandoned all Hubert's ideals, and to have felt able to give free play to his own eyes, mind, and hand, entirely to please himself and to express his own strong love of reality—of things and people as they actually appear under the searching gaze of a cool observer. This reaction lasted for a few years, but ultimately wore itself out, so that in his last years John became Hubert's follower with as much docility as he can have shown in his days of actual pupilage.

So much, then, for John van Eyck's paintings. Before considering his school and the effect he and his elder brother produced upon the art of their day, and of the generations that followed them, it will be well to glance briefly at the human medium in which their work was done—the court and industrial cities of Flanders in the fifteenth century; but for that we must open a new chapter.

NOTE.—The original of the Holy Face or full-faced Head of Christ by John van Eyck, referred to on page 119 below, has recently been discovered at a local auction and acquired by Messrs. Browne & Browne, of Newcastle, who were kind enough to bring it to London for me to see, and to give me a photograph of it.

CHAPTER VII

THE COURT

NOTHING is more difficult for a modern individual, who does not make the study of some particular past age the chief occupation of his life, than to picture to himself what were the circumstances, conditions, and manners of life of another individual at some remote point of time. We read of wars and dynasties, of changes of government and the formation or splitting up of kingdoms and empires, but all this tells us nothing of the home-life of families and societies, and the changes that took place in their daily round. When we find all the Roman villas in Britain abandoned and destroyed about the same time, and new centres of habitation replacing them, we have no difficulty in concluding that a great change in social life must have occurred; but it is excessively difficult to form an idea of the degree of barbarism that followed, or indeed whether the invading Saxons brought with them a higher or a lower standard of living than that of the bulk of the natives of Britain in Roman days. Again, we possess some notion of the stages by which the comforts and conveniences of life and the manners of decent people have been improved and developed since, say, about the days of Elizabeth. There are plenty of houses then built and still inhabited to help us visualize the life in them, and those houses are rich in portraits, furniture, and even actual costumes and implements used by successive generations, while contemporary literature aids to complete the picture. But by what stages, domestic and social, civilized life developed from the barbarism of the period of the Invasions to the relative civilization of the sixteenth century few people have any idea. How many educated persons, if suddenly plunged into the domestic life of a family in any century between the seventh and the fifteenth, would recognize even the approximate date they were landed in, unless it were by the current style of architecture about them. To date their surroundings by the *manners* of the

people would perhaps be beyond the powers of the most learned antiquary. In order to give precision to this point of difficulty let us consider one or two concrete instances, selected almost at random.

Philip Augustus, who came to the throne of France in 1180, was married in the church of the Abbey of St. Denis. History happens to present us with a kind of snapshot photograph of the behaviour of the congregation at one moment of that ceremony. The royal bride and bridegroom were standing before the altar, some of their courtiers in close attendance, but the crowd so pressed in upon them that a high official laid violently about him with his staff to beat the people back. In so doing he broke a hanging lamp overhead, and the oil poured on to the persons of the King and Queen! It is easy to fill out the picture. The crowd must have pressed and jostled up to within a yard or two of the Sovereign at the very focus of a most important state function. The court manners of the twelfth century may be inferred.

I recall another story, but cannot lay hands upon my authority. A certain Plantagenet king, perhaps Edward I, in company with his queen, was giving audience in Rochester Castle to a statesman in a position corresponding to that of a modern prime minister. The room in which this audience took place still exists. It was the royal bedchamber. A flash of lightning struck the castle and actually passed between king and queen. Owing to that startling event the situation happens to have been described in detail. The king and queen were sitting side by side on the edge of their bed. The minister stood before them. The room is quite small, and everyone passing to and from the ramparts had to go *through* it. Imagine King George and Queen Mary seated side by side on the edge of a bed in a small bedroom giving audience to Mr. Lloyd George, while the Windsor Castle police on their rounds kept passing through the room! Such were court manners in the days of the Plantagenets.

That invaluable book, Mr. Coulton's *From St. Francis to Dante*, is a mine of information as to thirteenth century manners. Every page of it is worth reading. He shows us, for instance, St. Louis, King of France, and his brothers visiting a convent of friars. After they had knelt before the altar "his brethren looked round for

seats and benches, but the King sat on the ground in the dust, as I [Salimbene] saw with mine own eyes, for that church was unpaved. And he called us to him, saying, 'Come unto me, most sweet Brethren, and hear my words'; and we sat round him in a ring on the ground, and his blood-brethren did likewise." What a picture! St. Louis indeed, wherever and however he appears, is always the most perfect gentleman of the Middle Ages, but the bulk of the folk of his day had manners that would disgrace a Bulgarian swineherd.

It was the slow formulation of the usages of chivalry that effected the important change in the manners of the upper class, which are still but slowly penetrating down through layers of the population and may ultimately make Europe and America civilized continents. It seems to have been during the fourteenth century that the most considerable change was effected, especially in and about the court of France and the courts of the princely art-patrons we have referred to. No one can fail to recognize the charming manners of the splendidly dressed ladies and gentlemen in the April miniature of the Hours of Chantilly, but the picture of the Duke of Berry at dinner, for all the fine garments and plate and the beautiful furniture, implies table-manners very far removed from modern composure. Pet dogs scavenging among the dishes on the table, a number of courtiers crowding irregularly about, a strew of plates apparently scattered anyhow on the cloth—such details obviously imply a still rudimentary art of behaviour. Yet about that same dinner there was, in fact, no small attempt at formalism, as we shall see.

The cultivation of manners and the art of living were as well attended to in the court of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy as anywhere else in North Europe at that date. Of course they were accompanied by much priggishness and absurd etiquette, but the fact that etiquette was attended to at all is the important point. Somewhere about the year 1490 a noble lady of the court of the Duke of Burgundy compiled a little book on court etiquette, which is a social document of considerable interest. The authoress was Aliénor, Vicomtesse de Furnes. Her mother, Isabelle de Souze, had come to Flanders in 1429 (in the same company as John van Eyck) as maid-of-honour to Isabella of Portugal, third wife of Duke

Philip the Good. The little Aliénor spent her days at court from her seventh year, and grew to be a very Mrs. Grundy. She recorded not merely her own observations, but what her mother had told her, as well as some at least of the precedents recorded by an earlier authority, a Countess of Namur (born 1372, married 1391). The period from which she drew her precedents was thus almost exactly a century, from about 1390 to about 1490. During that time court etiquette seems to have settled down into certain fixed forms which toward the end of it tended to be relaxed. This relaxation provoked our authoress to set down what she considered the traditional rules, in order to their better maintenance as against the upstart forwardness of a mere ruck of countesses, viscountesses, and baronesses, of whom, as she says, there are such a multitude in the many kingdoms and countries. A sixteenth-century copy of her little manuscript came into the hands of M. de la Curne de Sainte-Palaye, and was included by him in his *Mémoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie* [1] under the title "Les Honneurs de la Cour." I propose in the first instance to illustrate her remarks by aid of the aforesaid famous miniature in the Hours of Chantilly, which represents John Duke of Berry at dinner in or about the last year of his life, 1416.

The officers of the household present at the banquet should (according to our authoress) be the following: the chevalier d'honneur, the cupbearer, the butler, the esquire carver, and the varlet servant. There are also one or more "tasters." As she says that the chief servant in a mere count's household should not carry a baton, it seems to follow that the richly dressed personage with a baton, standing behind the Duke and calling out "Aproche! aproche!" is the chevalier d'honneur. The others are readily distinguishable. The cupbearer is in front on the left, holding in his hand a covered cup very like the famous gold cup in the British Museum, which actually belonged to this same Duke of Berry. The esquire carver, with spurs on heel, is engaged in his task, cutting up a dish of birds with a big carving-knife. Just such a knife, which belonged to Jean Sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy, is in the British Museum, and another, of Philip the Good, is in the museum at Le Mans.[2] The man standing beside the carver is perhaps the

[1] Nouvelle édition, Paris, 1781, t. ii, pp. 183–267.

[2] See *Archæologia*, vol. lx, p. 425.

varlet servant, while the man at the end of the table, who looks as though he were sitting down, but is probably meant to stand, is likewise carving. The garments of these men are embroidered with the badges of the Duke.[1] Our authoress is emphatic that, when a prince is being served, the server should carry a napkin over his shoulder; in the case of lesser stars the napkin is to be carried over the arm. It will be noticed that the carver has his napkin over his left shoulder. She tells us that there should be two table-cloths, one of which should hang down at two sides of the table, but what is to be done with the other she does not mention. The salt-cellar is to be placed in the middle of the table, where in fact we see it, right in front of the Duke, who, of course, occupies a central position. This salt-cellar was the famous piece of plate called the "Salière du Pavillon" in the Duke's inventories. It is in the form of a "nef" and has a bear modelled on one end and a swan on the other, these being two of the Duke's devices. The swan is also seen on the embroidered dorser[2] over the Duke's head, of which more anon. She says that the salt-cellar should be covered with a cloth, and so should the bread and the other dishes of dry food, and the cup should likewise be covered. We see no cloths covering anything in our miniature, so that this detail must have been a later regulation. It is to the Lady de Furnes one of high importance, to which she makes frequent and insistent reference. It is only for princes that such covering cloths should be used, and when two or more princes are entertained together it is only the highest that is to be so honoured. Thus, when the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy dine together, the Dauphin's dishes, cups, and bread are to be covered, not the Duke's. The covered bread should have been beside the salt-cellar, as well as two little silver bowls and some cut sippets of bread wrapped in a napkin to be used by the taster in tasting each dish of meat when placed on the table.

Possibly the tasting apparatus is hidden by the carver; the man beside him may be the taster. Trenchers or plates, says our lady, are to be of silver, and not more than four of them are to be placed

[1] Except the carver's, but he probably wore them on the side turned from us.

[2] She writes it "dorseret," Anglicé "dorser." The bench-covering to match was called in English a "banker." See *Archæological Journal*, September 1915, p. 260.

against the salt-cellar. In the miniature the plates seem to be inside the "nef," which can scarcely have held both them and salt. Perhaps it was only *called* a salt-cellar, the vessel that actually held salt being the smaller upright object seen beyond it on the right. The covered goblet, she says, is to be placed at the end of the table and a little tasting cup beside it. However that may have been when the table was laid, the butler in the miniature now has it in his right hand, and perhaps holds the tasting cup in his left (apparently upside down). At all events the saucer-like thing in his hand is a drinking vessel, for immediately over the butler's head in the picture is an individual actually drinking from such a dish. A man behind him is putting something into his mouth, so that conceivably these two may be the tasters, but no one seems to be paying any attention to them, and they almost look as though they were getting a bit for themselves on the sly.

The Duke is sitting with his back to the great fireplace. A big fire is burning on the hearth, and the tops of the flames can be seen above the circular screen that protects the Duke's back. Those not so protected hold up their hands, either to warm them or to screen their faces. Over the Duke's head is a daïs or dorser of state. "As for the fashion of a dorser," says our lady, "seeing that many people don't know what one is, a dorser should be as wide as three widths of cloth of gold, and made just like the canopy of a bed. A dorser above and behind a dresser must not rise above it more than a quarter or half an ell, and it has flounce and fringe like the canopy of a bed. The part behind the dresser is bordered from top to bottom on both sides with a different material from the centre, and the border should be about a quarter of the whole width, and the same for the canopy." The dorser in the Countess of Charolais's chamber was of cloth of gold "cramoisy," bordered with black velvet, and the velvet was embroidered in fine gold with the device of Duke Philip the Good which was a flint and steel. The Duke of Berry's dorser is embroidered along the border with his swans and sprigs of orange leaves, another of his many devices. A portion of the dresser is seen on the left, but there is no appearance of any dorser over that. The dressers were likewise matters of estate about which our authoress is very particular. Thus the Queen of France had a dresser with five shelves, and no one of

less rank ought to have so many. It was regarded as a usurpation when the Duchess of Burgundy set up a dresser with five shelves. The proper number for Burgundy princes of the royal house was four. Lesser folk should have three, two, or one, according to their rank. A Burgundian princely dresser should have four fine shelves, each of the full width of the dresser and covered with a cloth.

The top of the dresser and all the shelves were charged with plate—vessels of crystal set in gold and jewels, vessels of pure gold, and other cups and basins. On the Duke's dresser were three drageoirs of gold and jewels, one worth 40,000 écus, another 30,000. These drageoirs were vessels to hold sweetmeats, and it was the prerogative of the person second in rank in a room to offer the drageoir to the person of highest rank on the occasion of a ceremonial visit.[1] Only the two lower shelves of the Duke of Berry's dresser are visible in the miniature, the others being outside its limits.

The Duke sits on a long bench in front of the fire. This type of bench is frequently depicted in fifteenth-century pictures; very clearly, for example, in one of Robert Campin's wings of the Werl altar of 1438, now at Madrid. There St. Barbara is sitting on such a bench with her back to the fire, and it will be observed that the back of the bench could be swung over if required, so that a person might sit upon it facing the other way. There was a long foot-rest on the side away from the fire, and the end of a similar foot-rest can be seen under the Duke's table on the left. The Duke's bench was no doubt similar in construction, but it is enveloped in a striped rug which also covers the long footstool below; this, I suppose, was the "banker." The only person seated at table with him is an ecclesiastic. He may have been the Bishop Martin Gouge, who was his treasurer and afterward one of his executors; an amateur also of fine manuscripts, it appears. It is at all events evident that he is an honoured dependent. He and the five principal household officials, as well as one obvious menial and the boy feeding the dog, wear no hats. All others are covered. M. Durrieu suggests that, as the miniature illustrates January, it is

[1] This bit of etiquette lingered on till the French Revolution and gave occasion to an amusing incident in the bedroom of La Grande Mademoiselle described in one of Madame de Sevigné's letters.

probably a New Year's feast that we are shown, and the people to whom the chevalier d'honneur calls out " Approach ! approach ! " are members of the Duke's household coming to offer him the good wishes of the season, and the gifts they were accustomed to present on that auspicious anniversary—not without hopes of at least equivalent returns. Possibly among the incomers the brothers de Limbourg, who painted the miniatures in the Chantilly Hours, may be depicted. Who can say ? It is worth noting that the table, being supported on trestles, was intended to be removed at the end of the repast, and that the floor is carpeted with a plait-work of rushes.

The position of the Bishop on the Duke's right hand was not, according to the Lady de Furnes, the most honourable. She relates that when the Duke had to distinguish between two ladies of not quite equal rank, he put the one higher in rank on his left hand and the lower on his right. The left or more honourable side was called " below " and the right " above." She who was placed on his left was below his heart and thus in the most honourable position. So, at all events, the old people who had paid long attention to such matters assured our authoress. This is one of the provisions, I suppose, of which she writes that they have been " so well ordained and debated at the courts of kings and queens by great princes and nobles as well as by heralds and kings-of-arms that no one ought to fail to keep and observe them both at the present time and in times to come." The gentleman, therefore, who gives his left arm to the lady he takes into dinner conforms to ancient custom.

Unfortunately I am not able to produce a miniature to illustrate the elaborate account our authoress gives of a ducal Burgundian bedchamber prepared for an accouchement. Every detail was matter of estate, except the fire burning on the hearth, which our Mrs. Grundy is careful to say depends not on etiquette but upon the season ! It should be noted that a lady's bedroom was her reception room also. In it, in the case of a princess, there must be two great beds, side by side, with an alley between, and a great high-backed chair at the end of it, " comme ces grandes chaises du temps passé." There must also be a couch on wheels before the fire, like a truckle-bed, such as they used to push under great beds.

A canopy of green damask fringed with green silk must cover the two beds, and green satin curtains to hang from it all round the beds except across the opening of the alley. That could be closed by other curtains on rings which overlapped the fixed ones, and could be drawn together. There was also a curtain which was kept bunched up, but could be let down between the beds. A queen of France, but no less person, might have yet another curtain, drawn right across the room from side to side, enclosing the end where the beds were. The couch also had its canopy and green satin curtains. The walls were hung with green silk and the floor covered with velvet tapestry, laid as flat as possible, up to the door and between the beds and all around. The beds were covered with ermine rugs lined with violet cloth, wider than the fur, and these rugs fell down and spread on the floor. There were fine sheets and a bolster and pillow covered with the same fine linen. The great chair was covered all over with cloth of gold and had a cushion to match. These beds were so much matters of estate that a pair of them was provided in the nursery chamber of the infant Mary of Burgundy, while her cot was before the fire under a canopy. Lesser nobles had only one bed, and their couch must not be before the fire but in a corner of the room. Against the wall of the ducal bedchamber was a four-shelved dresser, laden with plate; and in a corner beside it was a little low table with drinking vessels.' The antechamber is likewise carefully described. It was called "La Chambre de Parement." Here was one large bed with canopy and so forth of crimson satin embroidered with great gold suns. This bed was not made up as though to be slept in, but "covered like a bed in which no one sleeps." There was a little chair beside it. The walls were hung with red silk, and the floor carpeted with a velvet tapestry. There was a very large three-tier dresser laden with massive silver-gilt plate.

Green hangings were *de rigueur* for a royal confinement. Queens of France in ancient days, said Mme. de Namur, used to be confined in bedrooms all of white, but the mother of King Charles VII set the fashion of green, and since then all princesses have followed her example.

As for the ordinary run of nobles, says our authoress, they must not have a "lady of honour," but a "Dame de Compagnie," and

not maids-of-honour, but just maids, and the old lady who looks after them must be called Jeanne or Margaret or whatever, but certainly not "the mother of the maids." In such houses food must not be "tasted" nor must things be kissed before presentation to the lord or the lady, nor must there be dorsers, nor must they call their relations "beau-cousin" but plain "mon cousin." Nor must such folk wear the richest stuffs and ornaments only proper for royalty, nor be served at table with napkin on shoulder. Nor must such ladies' trains be carried by women, but by some page. And finally there's no sense in saying that, "though such and so was the old fashion, now we live in another world"; that is not a sufficient reason for breaking old and ordained customs. But our authoress is far from satisfied with the way things are going:

"Toutes fois depuis dix ans ança aucunes Dames du pays de Flandres ont mis la couche devant le feu, dequoy l'on s'est bien mocqué, car du temps de Madame Isabelle de Portugal, nulles du pays de Flandre ne le fasoient: mais un chacun fait à cette heure à sa guise: par quoy est à doubter que tout irat mal, car les estats sont trop grants comme chacun scayt et dit."

It was to the sumptuous monarch of the court into which we have thus glanced that John van Eyck was the official painter. He was not, however, regarded only as a painter; he was the Duke's artist, bound to produce to order all kinds of designs, whether for costumes, pageants, tapestries, or what not, and to apply his skill to the decoration of any objects that might be entrusted to him. The painting of pictures was merely one of his functions. In fact, in France and the territories of the Duke of Burgundy, at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries, the painting of panel-pictures was exceptional work, little done by any save court-painters. It is not destruction by mobs or time that has made French and Flemish panel-pictures of that date so rare. There never were many. The court-artist was a man mainly employed about the decoration of the apparatus of court-life. Only occasionally was he called upon to paint a panel-picture. Beaumetz and Malouel both painted on walls at Champmol and elsewhere. Few panel-pictures are recorded by them and other court-painters. John van Eyck was the last of the old style of

court-painters, and the first who made panel-painting his main business. It was during and after his lifetime that picture-painting on panels began to become popular in France and the Netherlands—especially in the Netherlands. Of course the making of such works could not escape guild-regulations. But John van Eyck, because he was in the employ of the prince, was free from the restrictions imposed upon their members by the guilds. A given craftsman might be thus emancipated from rule and custom, but he did not thereby escape from the temper and spirit of the time as formulated and expressed by the guilds. The whole industry of Northern Europe, not the work of artists only, was organized and conditioned by the guilds. Flanders was at this period perhaps the most industrious and most prosperous district in the North. We shall not be in a position to enter into the spirit of Flemish Art till we know something about the temper in which the industries and commerce of Flanders were carried on.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GUILD SYSTEM

Long before the fifteenth century, the blossoming period of Flemish art, the provinces of Flanders and Brabant were famous for their wealth throughout all Europe. Already in the thirteenth century a queen of France could say with disgust that the wives of the burghers of Ghent were as rich and as splendidly bejewelled as herself. This wealth the peoples of the Low Countries owed partly to the geographical situation of their land, but chiefly to their own national character. Part of their country was a redeemed swamp which none but a hardy race could have chosen for a home. The energy which enabled them to beat back the ever-threatening sea was not likely to be satisfied with that conquest alone. They were an amphibious race and their ships soon found a way to an ever-widening circle of distant ports. Commerce came naturally to them, for their country was situated at one end of the trans-European trade-route, which led from Bruges to Venice and thus linked England and the Baltic ports with the cities of the Levant and the distant East. But the burghers of Flanders were not only carriers, they were makers too. They were the weavers of Europe. Their ships brought raw wool, shorn from the backs of the sheep of the Surrey downs, and these fleeces they wove into gold. The Woolsack, upon which the Lord Chancellor still sits, was symbolic of the wealth of England; the Golden Fleece, which Duke Philip the Good chose as emblem of the order of chivalry founded by him at Bruges, was symbolic of the industry of the Low Countries. The history of the period with which we are concerned is largely the history of the Woolsack and its Golden Fleeces.

The Bruges of to-day presents few signs of its ancient splendour. Its public buildings have been either battered or entirely removed. Of the palaces of its merchant princes, all have disappeared except two. In the fifteenth century buyers and sellers from every land

resorted to Bruges for their trade. The merchant of Venice and the Jew of Lombard Street encountered one another on her quays and in her exchanges. Sailors and traders from all parts of the world made her streets lively with the varied colouring of their bright costumes. They came and went, and each left something behind him. The wealth of England met the wealth of the East in the market-halls of Bruges. The representatives of twenty foreign princes dwelt within the walls of this capital of the Dukes of Burgundy, at the cross-roads of the highways of the North. In those days, says Mr. Weale, "the squares" of Bruges "were adorned with fountains; its bridges with statues in bronze; the public buildings and many of the private houses with statuary and carved work, the beauty of which was heightened and brought out by gilding and polychrome; the windows were rich with storied glass, and the walls of the interiors adorned with paintings in distemper or hung with gorgeous tapestry. If but little of all this now remains, it must be borne in mind that, during the past three centuries, Bruges has seen its works of art exported by Spaniards, destroyed (when not sold) by Calvinist iconoclasts and French Revolutionists, and carried off by picture-dealers of all nations."

Ghent, Louvain, Mechlin, Ypres, and several other neighbouring towns were vast manufacturing centres. Louvain could muster 150,000 men, amongst whom no fewer than 4,000 were master weavers employing many hands. The suburbs of the town were crowded. At Ghent the weavers' guild alone numbered 40,000 members. The city could turn out a force of 80,000 men. Day by day the great bell summoned the workmen to their tasks, and the surging crowd that hurried forth rendered the streets impassable. Life in such towns flowed in no gentle current. Civic feeling was intense. The token of a town's freedom and individuality was the belfry tower. Many of these towers remain, looking down in their hoary age upon the withered glory whose blossoming they beheld. Like some human being in a second childhood, they prattle aimlessly of the past, and at the old stated intervals some still chime forth the notes which once summoned the throng of thousands to their daily toil, or dismissed them at evening to their rest. Now no multitude listens to their call, but the hoarding of the bill-poster echoes it back in irreverent scorn.

The close knitting together of religious, social, and political life, which characterized the Middle Ages throughout Europe, is plainly exemplified by the organization of industry in the Flemish commercial centres. Going back beyond the limit of precise knowledge about social history, it is clear that, in early days, when industries began once more to raise their heads after the anarchic period of the barbarian invasions, the workers in some places joined themselves together, by a loose kind of bond, for religious and social purposes. In time all the men engaged in a trade, or in two or three connected trades, were thus linked together into confraternities, the intention of which was often purely religious, the members being bound to be present at the funeral of any one of them, to pray for his soul, to attend certain anniversaries, and so forth. These religious services were no doubt often followed by social gatherings; at any rate the bond once formed was not slow to develop. It was the time when everyone had to struggle for his rights; when cities were wresting charters of self-government from their feudal lords, and when every industry had to resist pillage from all quarters. In this lengthy struggle men with common interests had to stand shoulder to shoulder for their common weal. Thus all the workers at one trade fought together to obtain favourable conditions for their work; and so, by action, the society, or guild as it was called, became strong. The guilds of a town came to include most of the intelligent citizens. Community of interest forced the guilds, in their turn, to unite together against the feudal lord. From this union of the guilds sprang municipal government, the guild becoming the political unit. Thus guilds represented the three sides of mediæval life, and were at once social, political, and religious institutions.

For a self-governing municipality certain buildings were necessary. A belfry was the first requirement, and in early days its various storeys served for prison, magisterial court, and record office. But as the requirements of a growing town increased, a town-hall had to be added to the tower. The oldest existing belfry is that at Tournay, whilst the finest is the famous tower of Ghent, over which swings the Golden Dragon famed in story. The first of the fine town-halls was that at Bruges; it served as model for the still more elaborate edifice at Brussels, from which again the

town-halls at Louvain and Audenarde were freely imitated. In addition to a belfry and a town-hall for governmental purposes, and of churches for religious purposes, two kinds of public buildings were still required—namely, market-halls for the sale of various commodities, especially cloth, and guild-halls for the several trade guilds. Of cloth-halls the finest recently existing was the noble structure at Ypres, erected in the best age of architecture, and one of the most splendid municipal buildings in the world. Being no longer required for its ancient purpose, it served of late as Hôtel de Ville. The Market-hall connected with the belfry at Bruges is likewise a famous building, striking nowadays as a monument of the city's former importance. The guild-halls unfortunately exist in very small numbers now. Traces of some of them can be found buried in the midst of modern plaster; as, for example, the Maison des Charpentiers at Antwerp. In Ghent two very fine guild-halls are fortunately preserved, but even they are only battered specimens, and presumably could not compare with the splendidly-built and sumptuously furnished houses which were the pride of the more wealthy corporations. Amongst the five hundred palaces of marble or hammered stone, burnt at Antwerp in the days of the Spanish Fury, many no doubt were guild-halls. But our interest now is not so much with the buildings as with the institutions they were raised to house.

Guilds in the fifteenth century, whatever their first origin may have been, consisted of two classes, according as they were chartered or unchartered. The unchartered guilds were voluntary associations of men and women under the patronage of some saint, usually for a religious purpose. Such, for example, was the confraternity of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows founded at Bruges, the members of which possessed a chapel in the cathedral, paid a certain contribution in support of religious services held within it, bound themselves to fulfil stated religious duties, and participated in the spiritual advantages which this piety merited. Such confraternities were often formed for charitable purposes, supporting perhaps a hospital, or relieving the sick and destitute. Sometimes they were of the nature of benefit or burial societies. At all events they were numerous and multiform. There were also shooting societies or clubs of men-at-arms, the members of which met

together and indulged in sport and social intercourse. The three great shooting places at Antwerp were important sights of the town, and when Dürer was staying there he tells of his being taken to see them. In Antwerp Museum is an entertaining picture of a fête of the local Archers painted about 1480–90. They are enjoying themselves in the open air or within a fine Gothic building close by.

Equally numerous throughout the Low Countries were the guilds of the Rhetoricians. They were associations of artisans for purposes of amusement. The members composed lengthy poems which they recited to their society, and every year meetings were held in this or the other town to which delegates were sent from all the country round. Dramatic and musical exhibitions were also an important part of their business. These guilds of Rhetoric, in fact, performed many of the functions of the modern periodical press; they attained considerable political influence, and the Government, being unable to suppress them, did what it could to secure their support by flattery.

The chartered guilds were, however, the most influential. No man could work for pay in a town unless he was in the service of the Prince, or was a freeman of the town. Moreover, he was not allowed to exercise a trade unless he belonged to the guild of that trade. It was only as a member of a chartered guild that a workman occupied a recognized and stable position. In the socialistically constructed Middle Ages independent units were regarded with little favour. Every man had to join a recognized association before he could secure his rights, and every association not only conferred rights but exacted the fulfilment of duties. The guild entered into and influenced every relation of the workman's life, and it is impossible to discuss any subject connected with mediæval industry without considering the guilds.

Painting, to the mediæval mind, was a craft like any other, and was therefore organized in the usual way. A painter did not look upon himself and was not regarded as a person superior to ordinary discipline. Fifteenth century painters lived like other craftsmen, and were paid for the work they did according to a fair scale of remuneration. They lived for the most part simply, working unobtrusively and hard, and their work was first of all

good and next beautiful. That, at any rate, was the intention which the painters' guilds had in view—to secure good and honest work on the one hand and to secure just and prompt payment for it on the other. The guild, therefore, intervened in the education of the youthful artist. The lad had to be bound apprentice for a series of years to a recognized master of the craft, who from that day forward stood to him very much in the relation of parent to child. The master was responsible for the apprentice's education, moral and technical. The boy lived under his roof, served him at table, and about the house, and had to fulfil his bidding in all respects. The master, on the other hand, was bound to give him instruction in all matters connected with his craft. He was also regarded as responsible for his moral and religious education. That this duty was seriously regarded is shown by the following entry in the diary of Neri di Bicci on the occasion of his receiving an orphan as apprentice without premium: "to accomplish this charity and for him this good, I took him to be my spiritual son, with intention and desire to make him virtuous and obedient and to teach him to live in the fear of God." [1]

The methods of painting in those days included numerous processes. The artist had to know how to prepare his panel and what should be the nature and quality of the wood. He had to be able to prepare and lay on the coating of fine plaster or *gesso*, which formed the ground upon which the colours were laid. The evenness of this coating and the firmness with which it adhered to the wood were important for the durability of the picture. Further, he had to know how to make every implement and every colour he wanted, for there were no artist's material shops in those days.

Neither the method of *tempera*, nor the improved method of the

[1] Readers interested in the ways and ordinances of the old painters' guilds may refer to the following among many other publications. For the Statutes of the Painters' Guild at Mons, see Devillers, *Le passé artistique de Mons*. For Valenciennes, see *Revue universelle des Arts*, t. x, p. 315. For Ghent, see V. van der Haeghen, *La Corporation des peintres . . . de Gand*, and later publications by Professor Maeterlinck and Professor G. Hulin. Also see A. van der Willigen, *Les Artistes de Haarlem*; D. van der Casteele, *Keuren* 1441–1774, *Livre d'admission . . . à la Ghilde de St. Luc de Bruges*; E. Baas, *La peinture flam. et son enseignement sous le régime des Confrèries de St. Luc*, in Mém. de l'Acad. de Belgique, 1881; Hans Floerke, *Studien zur niederl. Kunst*, Leipzig, 1905; M. Houtart, *Jacques Daret*, p. 20.

Van Eycks, in which varnish was used as a medium for laying on all the surface colours, was a simple process. Moreover, the preparation of oils and varnishes required skill. When engraving upon wood and copper-plate was invented artists were at first expected to be able to design for the wood-cutter, and this involved a further knowledge of tools and processes, including some dexterity with the printing press. At Tournay the sculptors went to painters for their designs, and everywhere sculpture was not finished till the painter had coloured it. Moreover, any artist might be called upon to make a drawing, and that was in a day when cheap lead pencils did not exist. He might have to work with the silver-point, and then his paper required special preparation, which he had to provide with his own hand; or he might work in chalk or charcoal, and the selection of materials had to be done by himself; there was no dealer to do it for him, unless the guild stepped in, as we shall see it sometimes did. The difference in the circumstances of ancient and modern artists is thus very great. The modern student has only to go to a shop, buy what his master tells him, and then learn to use it. The student in old days had to know how to make whatever he required. Certain colours, indeed, like ultramarine which came from Venice and brick-red made in Flanders, could be bought; but artists had to know exactly what they wanted, and to be able to discriminate between good and bad materials. There was no go-between to undertake the task of selection for them.

With so much to learn, a lad had a good five years' work before him when he commenced his apprenticeship, though in some towns the period was only three years; it varied according to the locality. If the master was an artist of real power, and the apprentice a lad capable of reverence, it is hard to imagine any arrangement better suited for enabling the one to bring his influence to bear upon the other, and thus to secure greater permanence and a more certain chance of expression, even after his own death, for the ideas that perhaps his technical skill had not been sufficient to formulate in works of art; and for enabling the other to enrich his youthful and enthusiastic mind with seeds of thought and high ambitions beyond the power of his years. On the other hand, this method of education was not likely to encourage originality. It tended to the output of good work of uniform type closely following a

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developed tradition and keeping in well-worn grooves. In the diaries and autobiographical sketches which Dürer has left us, we gain clearer glimpses than almost anywhere else into the inner life of a northern artist. He does not say much about his pupil days, except that his father delighted in him because he was diligent in trying to learn, and that in the workshop of his master Wolgemut he had much to suffer from his fellow-apprentices. No doubt in those rough days a sensitive lad would not find his prentice days very easy, especially if he were one among several high-spirited boys. In that fashion, however, he had to gather his learning together, and results prove it to have been no very bad fashion either.

Apprenticeship ended, the youth emerged, not yet a full artist, but a journeyman. He could now work for pay under any master he chose, and in some towns there were guilds of journeymen, though of course such guilds were not among the chartered bodies, and must not be confused with the regularly organized painters' guilds, with which we are now dealing. During his years of journeymanship the young craftsman frequently (I believe, generally) went away from home and wandered to various towns, working everywhere for hire, and at the same time gathering experience of men and an enlarged knowledge of the various methods of his craft as practised in different localities. For an artist these years of wandering were of great value. If originality was to be developed in him, now was the time. He came in contact with a wider range of subjects than his own town could have supplied to him ; he saw the masterpieces of many great painters ; his eye was cultivated ; his hand, already disciplined, was able to give permanent form to whatever struck him as worthy of note. Dürer travelled over South Germany in his years of wandering, and spent time in several cities. This journey produced a marked effect upon him. Everywhere he had nature before him, and he studied her face with all the enthusiasm of youth in novel surroundings. He was away from parents and home for four years, about the usual duration of the period of journeymanship. At the end of that time any youth of ordinary industry and ability was in a position to take his stand as a competent workman, fully prepared and educated in all the foundation principles of his craft, and with eye and hand practised to fulfil the bidding of the mind. I suspect, however, that such

wide journeying afield was more a German than a Netherlandish custom.

After giving proof of his abilities to the satisfaction of the appointed officers of the guild, the workman was now, upon payment of certain fixed fees, raised to the status of a master of the craft. He had to take solemn oaths of honesty, and to promise that his work should be done as in the sight of God. Henceforward he was a man; his status was fixed. He had a vote along with his fellows for the appointment of the officers, and he had his share in the property of the guild. His duties and rights were definite. At this time also it was customary for him to take a wife. He was to become a citizen and a householder. But he was no more free as a master than he had been before as apprentice or journeyman. The guild, through its appointed officers, still continued to watch over his work. He was not allowed to use any except recognized materials and tools. If bad materials were found by the guild inspectors in his possession, they were destroyed and he was fined. He had to work according to the best known methods, and any instances of scamping brought to the knowledge of the authorities were punished. The guild again stood between him and his customers. Every contract he entered into had to be registered in the company's books. His finished work must be valued by the appointed officers, and if the price had been settled in advance they were called upon to state whether the work came up to the standard contracted for. In case of a dispute between the artist and his employer the guild officers were called in to settle it, and to see that an honest bargain was honestly fulfilled.

When an artist bought raw materials he had to bring them to be approved; when he bought tools he had to bring them to be marked with the sign of the guild. I remember a regulation of a certain guild of leather-workers which provided that if any member was fortunate enough to acquire a lot of leather of more than ordinary excellence, he was bound to hand over half of it to the guild at the price he paid for it, so that his fellows might share his good fortune. Similar regulations may have been enforced by painters' guilds. The guild in some places acted as wholesale buyer and retailed to its members at wholesale prices the materials they required for their work. But guild members were not restricted

to purchasing from the guild alone. It was only when a favourable chance of buying a large quantity of materials occurred that the guild stepped in, and the members could share in the good fortune if they pleased. The various painters' guilds of the Low Countries were federated together by a loose sort of bond. At stated intervals delegates from all the guilds in the country met in some town or other, and spent a few days in social intercourse, discussing matters of common interest, and no doubt at such meetings new methods and improvements discovered in one part of the country were made known to the representatives of men working in other districts. The remarkable uniformity in types and processes used all over the Low Countries, which would otherwise be difficult of explanation, was doubtless due to this periodical meeting. It was not an unmixed advantage.

As the workman advanced in fame and in the confidence of his companions he became liable to election as an officer of the guild, and if elected he was obliged to serve. His duty might then be to collect the contributions of the members, not only those levied by the guild for its own purposes, but the taxes levied by the town and the State, for all of which the guild was responsible. Or he might be appointed to value work done, or to inspect the tools and materials used by the members. Large sacrifices of time might be required for these services, and the only reward given for them was the dignity pertaining to the position and the influence it carried with it. A guild officer was a man of consideration in a town.

The relations which different guilds bore one to another were defined by law. Certain superior guilds interfered directly in the government of the town, whilst others did not; and this distinction gave rise at one time to serious local disorders. Another question not settled without much litigation related to the crafts allowed to be exercised by the members of a guild. It occasionally happened that two guilds claimed the exclusive right to a certain kind of work. As a rule, the work which belonged to the members of one guild was forbidden to members of all the others. For example, there were separate guilds at Bruges for painters and illuminators. Painters were not allowed to make miniatures, and miniaturists were forbidden to paint pictures. The Guild of St. Luke

included painters, saddlers, glass-makers, and mirror-makers; that of St. John illuminators, calligraphers, binders, and *imagiers*. This division seems unnatural, but if we follow the history of the thing back to early times it is readily explained. The illuminators' guild was of much later origin than that of the painters. Even before the illuminators were enrolled into a guild at Bruges, it was decided by a lawsuit that illuminators might only use water-colours, and that the making of pictures in oil-colours, or with gold and silver, was the exclusive right of members of the corporation of painters.

The only exception was, as aforesaid, in the case of an artist in the direct employ of the Prince. He was allowed to do any work that might be demanded of him without being called upon to make himself a member of the corresponding guild; for, it must be borne in mind, a competent workman could by payment become a member of any guild of his own craft. It was not necessary that he should have received his education by serving apprenticeship to a master of that particular guild. Once educated in the approved manner, the payment of an entrance fee to the local guild made him free to work in that locality.

Such, then, was the nature of a guild in relation to the organization of industry; it was equally important as an institution for social intercourse. Very few guild-houses remain in which the interior has not been entirely changed; but one at Lübeck contains the large room on the ground-floor in its old state. That room was the meeting-place of the guild-members. It resembled a tavern-parlour, and is divided into bays, each with a table and benches in it, like the room in the old "Cock" eating-house in Fleet Street, now no more. There at evenings the members came together to drink and converse after the labours of the day. Compare these conditions with the barrenness of a modern working-man's life, and it will be admitted that the mediæval arrangement was far superior. On great days more elaborate gatherings took place. The members and their wives dined together, and sometimes entertained illustrious guests. Read, for instance, Dürer's account of the entertainment given to him by the Painters' Guild at Antwerp:

"On Sunday, which was St. Oswald's Day [August 5, 1520],

the painters invited me to their guild-hall with my wife and maid-servant. They had a quantity of silver-plate, and costly furniture, and most expensive food. All their wives were with them, and as I was led in to table, every one stood up in a row on either side, as if they had been bringing in some great lord. Among them were men of very high standing, all of whom behaved with great respect and kindness towards me, saying that in whatever they could be serviceable to me they would do everything for me that lay in their power. And while I sat there in such honour, the syndic of the magistrates of Antwerp came with two servants to me, and gave me four cans of wine in their name, and said to me that they wished thereby to do me honour, and assure me of their good-will. For that I returned them my humble thanks, and offered them my humble services. Next came Master Peter, the town carpenter, and gave me two cans of wine with the offer of his services. When we had long been merry together, up to a late hour of the night, they accompanied us home in honour with lanterns, and prayed me to rely confidently on their good-will, and to remember that in whatever I wanted to do they would all be helpful to me. So I thanked them and lay down to sleep."

Such social gatherings, in which the newly-instituted young master could meet men of high position in the town on a footing of equality, were of great value, bridging over, as they did, the gulfs that tend to arise between different grades of society. Notwithstanding the aristocratic organization of mediæval life, the strong line of division between rich and poor did not exist. That has been one of the most conspicuous products of the cry for "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," under the echoes of which the reality of all three was banished from the soil of Europe.

Guilds further took an important part in all public rejoicings and festivals. If a prince were to be received in state, the guilds organized the reception, each undertaking its part. On the great fête days, the guilds marched in procession through the town, many of them adorning their part of the show with wagons bearing *tableaux vivants*, usually representing either some event in sacred history or an assemblage of emblematic figures. Of such processions the most famous were the *Omegang* at Louvain and that which paraded the streets of Antwerp on Lady Day. Dürer has left a description of the latter, telling how

" the whole town was gathered together, craftsmen and others of every class, each dressed in his best according to his position. Every rank and guild had its sign by which it could be known. Between the groups (forming the procession) great, costly candles were borne, and old-fashioned long French trumpets of silver. And between were also many pipers and drummers such as they have in Germany. The whole was carried on with much din and blowing of trumpets. I saw pass through the streets, in ranks widely separated one from another, the Guilds of the Goldsmiths, the Painters, the Masons, the Broderers, the Sculptors, the Joiners, the Carpenters, the Sailors, the Fishermen, the Butchers, the Leatherers, the Weavers, the Bakers, the Tailors, the Cobblers, workmen of all kinds, and many craftsmen and tradesmen who serve the needs of life. There were likewise the merchants and traders, and all their hands. Then came the clubs of men-at-arms with guns, bows, and crossbows; also the travellers and pedlars. Then came the town watchmen, and then a great company of very stately people, nobly and costly habited. Before them, I forgot to say, went all the religious orders, and some who had made foundations, all in their various habits, very piously. There was also in this procession a great body of widows who support themselves with the work of their hands, and observe a special rule. All of them were clothed from head to foot in white linen made specially for them, very pitiful to look upon. Amongst them I saw persons of high estate. Last of all came the Canons of Our Lady's Church, with all the priests, scholars, and treasurers. Twenty persons bore the image of the Virgin Mary with the Child Jesus, adorned in the most gorgeous fashion, to the honour of the Lord God. In this procession were brought along many heart-gladdening things splendidly arranged. For there were many wagons with plays upon ships and other stages, such as the company and order of the Prophets; and then, from the New Testament, the Annunciation, the Three Kings upon great camels and other strange beasts most cleverly done; also how Our Lady fled into Egypt, most pious to behold, and many more things which for shortness I omit to mention. Last of all came a great dragon, whom St. Margaret with her maidens led by a girdle; she was specially pretty. St. George came after her with his esquire —a fine knight in armour. Also there rode in this company youths and maidens beautifully and expensively dressed according to the fashion of many countries, representing various saints. From beginning to end this procession took more than two hours to pass by our house, and in it there were such a number of things that I never could write them all in a whole book, so I leave well alone."

Such being the chief industrial and social aspects of a mediæval guild, let us consider for a few moments its religious functions. In the first place it must be borne in mind how great importance the manner of a man's death and burial and the prayers afterwards offered up on his behalf had in the opinion of the people of the fifteenth century. It was easy enough for a rich man to make arrangements for the foundation of memorial masses for the delivery of his soul out of the pains of purgatory, but less well-to-do folk had not the same facilities. Here, then, the guild stepped in, and its work in this respect was by no means the least important in the opinion of the men of those days. The guild either owned a chapel outright or rented one from the authorities of some church. This chapel they furnished with an altar, an altar-piece, curtains for the same, chalice, paten, and so forth, for the service of the altar, vestments for an officiating priest, deacon, and sub-deacon, and often a good many more things besides. All these were the property of the guild, not of the church; and they are always mentioned in the inventory of a guild's substance. In addition to this chapel, the guild secured and paid for the services of officiating clergy on certain occasions, the payments being frequently made in accordance with a regularly drawn up and signed agreement, which stated with utmost minuteness what the services were to be, and with what elaboration of music, candles, and the like they were to be performed. On certain occasions commemorative services were held for the souls of all those members of the guild who had passed away. If a member of a guild died in poor circumstances he was duly buried with all Christian rites at the expense of the Fraternity. Connected with these directly religious acts the guild likewise exercised charity in its corporate capacity. If the widow and children of a member were left destitute, it was often the custom to relieve them at the expense of the whole body and see to the education of the children.

The existence of this religious side in a guild produced an unforeseen but important result. If a rich man wished to found a memorial mass or other service in perpetuity he often preferred to leave his money in trust with some guild, which was bound to see that his intentions were carried out and to be present in person at the said service. In return for this they likewise received a

certain sum by the same agreement. A good deal of property came in this way into the hands of the guilds, and the governing body grew in importance. The ordinary revenues of the guild were derived from contributions levied upon the members and fees paid at entrance. The tendency of all such corporate bodies in those days was to grow rich. Their wealth, however, though partly spent in good cheer, was in the main devoted to the furtherance of the interests of their special craft.

In conclusion, it may be well to note briefly some of the principal effects which the guild system produced upon the person of the artist, and thus upon his art, for all art is but the product and reflection of the conditions of the artist's mind and the manner of its working. In contrast to the present day, we may note the absence of the effects of competition. Works of art produced for exhibitions labour under the great disadvantage that they must be made striking. In the multitude of their companions they must make their mark. The old art of the guilds was quiet and reserved. The workman was taught to make his work first of all things sound. There was small demand for "striking" pictures: altar-pieces for churches or domestic oratories, memorial paintings of a religious character, and portraits were the kind of pictures called for. All had needs be durable. The altar-piece was intended to last as long as the memorial mass founded by the pious donor. Everything in those days was intended to last. Dürer says with just pride of one of his pictures that 300 years later it would be as fresh as the day he painted it; and so in truth it would have been had not the flames devoured it. Neither in his work nor in his mode of life was a fifteenth century painter subjected to the stimulus of competition, as almost everybody is to-day, either consciously or unconsciously. The mere making and spending of a little more money would in no wise have bettered his social standing. His rise in the world was in the main dependent on the opinion his fellow-artists had of him, and that opinion was based upon the soundness and workmanlike quality of the thing he made. Such conditions were favourable to the development of a school of art whereof thoroughness was a virtue. It was not merely the result of chance that the brothers Van Eyck invented their peculiar method of painting by which they were enabled to produce pictures of almost unlimited durability

and of unsurpassable finish, provided sufficient care were bestowed upon the work. The spirit of the day and the methods of the day were reflections one of another. When men live in a scramble, they will paint in haste and buy in haste. In old days they went more leisurely to work. Take any picture of this old Flemish school and regard it carefully, you will find that only so do its beauties strike you at all. At the first glance you are liable to pass it by. When you get to know it a little you find it impresses you more strongly, till at last you cannot but pause long and often before it in wonder and admiration. This completeness is due to the essential character of the artist's environment ; it will be found everywhere where similar conditions obtained. Many of John van Eyck's pictures must have taken him months to paint ; some not less than years. Dürer, who came rather later than the period now under consideration, but whose spirit was singularly like that of the Flemish artists, spent the greater part of seven years over six pictures. A man was not continually wanting to go on to something fresh. Every work he undertook was intended to be monumental, so he did his planning with care as became a thing of dignity. The spirit in which the work was done and the method of doing it reacted one on another.

CHAPTER IX

PETER CHRISTUS

THE art of a day is the outcome and expression of the life of contemporary society as seen and felt by artists working for that society and living in that medium. Social organisms, as I have elsewhere written at length,[1] have a life of their own, altogether different in kind from the life of the individuals that compose them. It is out of the corporate life of the day that the artist's ideal arises, the art of the day being the highest and clearest expression of the common ideal. Both Hubert and John van Eyck were court artists, and John, at any rate, lived in the atmosphere of courts during all the years of his independent activity. If he painted for others than his prince and leading courtiers, it was only for the richest merchants, such as the Arnolfini, or for prominent churchmen. There was no force operative upon him at any time to make him a popular painter appealing to the multitude. Thus, his art is aristocratic. His portraits would satisfy men whose business it was to know and handle other men. They bear the impress of a small and high society whose chief interest was mutually to understand the characters of one another. Discernment of character is the secret of success in courts, politics, and large commercial affairs. John van Eyck stands in the first rank among the discerning portraitists of all time, whose works still exist.

Aristocracies tend to appreciate a solid and substantial splendour. Tinselly effects dazzle the plutocrat. The Flemish plutocracy was not emancipated, æsthetically or socially, from the control of the strongly rooted aristocracy above it, nor had it begun to infuse its vices into their veins. Thus the rich colouring, the

[1] *The Crowd in Peace and War.* London (Longmans), 1915.

glowing surfaces, the jewel-like finish of John's pictures were decreed quite as much by the taste of his patrons as by his own. If he came to possess matchless skill in rendering glorious pieces of goldsmith's work or richly embroidered and brocaded stuffs, it was again because his patrons loved jewelry and brocades and prided themselves upon the possession of such things. In Van Eyck Duke Philip possessed exactly the type of painter that the taste of his rank and day would most admire. He himself, his father, his grandfather, and their princely relatives, had worked hard during three generations to supply their courts with just such an art as this.

From Jacquemart, Malouel, Broederlam, and their school up to the culminating power of John van Eyck, there had been a steady progression along the lines determined by courtly exigencies and tastes. Hence John's art was not and did not aim at being popular. Hubert's great picture possessed, by its mere size and elaboration, a certain popular appeal, but there was nothing popular about its design. John never painted a popular picture, if we except the ugly panels of Adam and Eve, which astonished by their novelty. We do not find John's pictures, nor even his types, widely spread abroad by copyists and imitators. Sixty or seventy years after his death, archaistic artists harked back to them during a few years of dilettantism, but the generation that immediately followed him did not imitate him, with the single exception of Peter Christus. John, in fact, formed no school. Details of his pictures were borrowed, such as the window with the orange on its sill from the Arnolfini portrait, and the convex mirror in its background. These keep cropping up from time to time down to the middle and even the end of the seventeenth century, but that is very different from the monotonous repetition of a few designs which became a habit in the Netherlands schools after John was dead. Few of his paintings attained a wide publicity. They were made for individuals and enjoyed by them in the privacy of their own palaces or chapels. The Pala altar-piece, indeed, was in a public position, over the high altar of St. Donatian's at Bruges, but that was not a picture in the least likely to be imitated as a whole. A first glance shows that it would not be " popular."

The painters with whom we must presently deal were in different case. They were all guild men. The guild system held them in thrall for better or worse. But John was free from that thraldom. The only contemporary from whom he borrowed was his own brother and master. Evidently he made no secret of the methods of his craft, or his inventions and improvements in technical processes. They quickly became the common possession of the whole Netherlandish school and gave to it a prestige, even as far away as Italy, which is a little hard for us to understand. But if John was not secretive, the school as a whole seems to have tried to be so ; for we have evidence of the court influence brought to bear by princely Italian patrons to secure for some of their own artists, sent to the Netherlands for that purpose, access to Flemish and Brabantine studios, and admission to the mysteries of the new method of painting. We may also recall the story of Antonello da Messina, on which new light has recently been shed.

The only known painter who has any claim to be considered a pupil of the Van Eycks was Peter Christus. He copied the compositions of both brothers, and may have come into possession of their studio stock-in-trade. His original work does not bear the Van Eyck stamp. Merely copying does not make a follower. Otherwise, as I have said, John formed no school. One might guess that he did not associate very intimately with his fellow-artists, but lived rather in and about the court on a higher social level than an ordinary craftsman. For these reasons the pictures of the Van Eycks stand out with peculiar distinction from the general run of even the best Netherlands paintings of the century. The rest belong to the school, and owe much to it ; but those of the two great brothers and, to a less degree, of their contemporary Robert Campin, are their very own. Each is a thing apart, created by an individual for an individual, largely free, therefore, from those emotional elements which come from and appeal to a public. There is a considerable intellectual factor in John's appeal. He paints with understanding warmed by emotion, but his emotions are well controlled. Fra Angelico is recorded to have gone down on his knees, his eyes streaming with tears, when he painted Christ on the Cross, and we can well believe it. John's eyes under like circumstances would have

remained very dry. His Virgins are as plainly the women of his own place and day as is his wife. Their throne is not in any heaven of poetic fancy, but in John's studio in Sint Gillis Nieu Street, Bruges, or wherever he might be painting. He will paint you the thing he sees with all the rich and pleasant colour and play of penetrating light he can devise, those things also being visible to him; and he will paint them as well as his powers, patience, and wonderful skill can accomplish; but you must not ask him to bear you up into realms of fancy. His imagination plays only with fact, and rejoices in the wonder of what his eyes so beautifully behold.

The school-painters that were to follow him had different standards and lived in a different medium. With them the court arts, which had been founded and developed by the four princely patrons and their immediate successors, became the heritage of a large burgher class, enriched by manufacture and commerce. From the middle of the fifteenth century onward, it is no longer the court but the plutocracy that sets the tone of Netherlandish art. The consequence is what might be expected. Originality tends to evaporate. The new patrons wanted a definite class of goods, something up to sample, and the guilds existed to provide it. They would guarantee to the artist his pay, and to the buyer the goods contracted for. Fortunately for us, the "samples" were of high quality, and the consequent output remained remarkably good for many decades.

Before proceeding to deal with the popular school, which descended from Campin, who was the Van Eycks' contemporary, it will be more convenient to consider, out of its strictly chronological sequence, the work of the one known artist, Peter Christus, who directly followed the Van Eyck tradition. Thanks to Mr. Weale's researches, we know a few dates and other skeleton facts about his life. He was born at Baerle near Tilbourg in North Brabant, not long after 1400. He bought a house and settled in Bruges in 1443, acquired the freedom of the city in the following year, and settled down for life to exercise his craft there. Where he learnt it no one knows; not at Bruges, from John van Eyck, for he was dead three years before Christus came to that city, but possibly from Hubert, though all the critics swear to the

contrary.[1] Dates on a few pictures enable us to follow him at work during the forties, and we know that he was summoned to Cambrai in 1453 to make three copies of a miraculous picture of the Virgin. They were finished in 1454. He was probably in Italy in 1456.[2] His name appears in unimportant entries at Bruges in the sixties. He died there in 1472 or 1473.

It has been thought that the hand of Peter may be traced in a certain group of miniatures in the Hours of Turin. If that could be proved, the personal connexion between Hubert and our artist would be established. We come a step nearer, however, with the delightful little panel at Berlin in which St. Barbara presents the kneeling monk, Herman Steenken, to the Virgin and Child. As Steenken died in April 1428, it would seem that the picture must have been painted before then. The composition of it is obviously derived from a similar picture by Hubert (with the addition of another saintess) now in the G. de Rothschild Collection in Paris, but the landscape and a number of details are changed, and so are the facial types. Steenken in the Rothschild picture is exactly the same in pose and drapery, but his face is several years younger. If Peter painted the Berlin example, it shows him, not more than two years after Hubert's death, carrying on the Van Eyck tradition with no little exactitude. Moreover, the Berlin picture is in many respects reminiscent of the group of miniatures above referred to. The landscape with the evening light in the sky, the multiplicity of details in the city and river below, the fading away of the distance into light, are all so many links with the art of Hubert, though they are not copied from the particular picture which was obviously set before Christus by Steenken for a model. As for the portrait, the snub nose has become snubbier, the fat cheeks more bloated, the mouth grosser

[1] If he did not learn from one of the Van Eycks, who else was there who could have taught him their method of painting?

[2] The inclusion in 1456, among the *provvigionati* of the Duke of Milan, of one "Piero di Burges" can be quoted in favour of the view that Christus visited Italy. On the list are also one "Maestro Zannino," who is doubtless Zanetto Bugatto, and one "Antonello da Sicilia," whom we need feel no hesitation in identifying with Antonello da Messina, whose affinity to the Flemish School is thus fully explained. See C. de Mandach in *Mon. et Mem. Piot.*, xvi, 1909, pp. 196 sqq. (following up a suggestion of Dr. L. Venturi's).

than when the reverend father sat to Hubert. Age, alas! did not spiritualize him.

In a Madonna[1] in New York Museum (once in the Beresford-Hope Collection), we find Christus copying Hubert again, for the figures are taken straight from the same original as that repeated by John van Eyck in the little Virgin by the Fountain. Christus, however, sets her in an elaborate Gothic niche, adorned with sculptured figures of the Church, the Synagogue, and so forth. The architecture is weedy and over-slender, but accorded with the taste of the day. It is possible to imagine some connexion between this Madonna and the miraculous Virgin of Cambrai, whereof certain engravings exist. That was a Byzantine picture, very famous in its day, and likely to have been known to the Van Eycks. If the existing copy of the Fountain of Living Water at Madrid was painted by our artist, as has often been suggested, it may be grouped satisfactorily with other works of his early period. The same is true of a panel at Copenhagen, half a diptych or the wing of a picture, to which a late Flemish painter, often described as Van Dyck, added a Virgin and Child for St. Anthony's protégé to kneel to. Mr. Weale insists that the painter of the donor's panel was Hubert himself, and cites in proof the will, dated 9th March, 1426, of Robert Poortier, of Ghent, in which he bequeathed a picture of St. Anthony painted by Master Hubert. Of course, it might have been this very picture, if only it had been painted by Van Eyck, but almost every critic agrees that it displays the handiwork of Christus, though the composition may be thought to resemble that of the greater artist, while there is nothing to prevent Hubert from having painted a St. Anthony which has disappeared. Moreover, the bag worn by the kneeling donor actually appears in another picture by Christus, the portrait in the National Gallery, though that coincidence might be explained.

These pictures, if they are accepted as the work of Christus, certainly tend to the conclusion that he learned his art in the studio of Hubert van Eyck. They are painted with delicacy of touch and fineness of detail, and the nearer they come to the style of the master the better they are. The Crucifixion at Wörlitz shows our artist considerably less dependent upon his prototype.

[1] Friedländer does not ascribe this picture to Christus.

Certain critics have denied that it can be by Christus at all, and have claimed it for some other Netherlander, painting in Italy. The panel is not of oak, but of poplar, which points to the South, but the picture upon it presents no obvious Italian characteristics, though one can imagine them if one tries. We have reason to believe that Christus visited Italy and taught Antonello da Messina the Van Eyck method. As for the treatment of the subject, it is as little dramatic as can be. Everyone's emotions are mechanical. All are actors, and bad at that. There is, however, a single figure of considerable charm—the white-robed Magdalen raising her clasped hands aloft. Her little round head, her soft hair, her white dress, are pretty with a sweet simplicity; but the figure is here out of place, though it would have been at home in the Steenken Madonna. Beside her stands another woman, who turns her back. We have seen something like her elsewhere. Surely she has been borrowed from the entourage of Robert Campin! Possibly the works of that bold master had impressed Christus and turned him from his old ways, though Campin would have scorned the groggy-legged soldiers on the right and the general feebleness of emotion throughout.

We cannot pass without mention the Frankfurt Madonna, dated 1447 (others read 1457); but what a travesty of sweet St. Francis is this standing figure by the throne! The picture is interesting because, after John van Eyck's unfinished altar-piece, it is, as stated above, the earliest with a date in which the perspective leads correctly to a single vanishing point. Moreover, the carpet on the floor is very like one introduced by John into his Lucca Madonna, and is generally said to be the same. The painting is workmanlike, but manifests once for all how little of religious imagination or fervour there was within the solid head of Christus. When, however, he came down from heaven to earth he was more at home. Witness his far from contemptible portraits. They are not comparable to Van Eyck's, of course, nor even to Campin's, but how grateful we are for them, none the less! Earliest in date may be the Salting picture, perhaps the left half of a diptych, which shows us a young man reading his hours and wearing the same bag as the protégé of St. Anthony. Moreover, there is a family likeness between the youth and that personage, and the

bag is more likely to be an heirloom than any piece of studio property. When one has one's portrait painted one does not wear studio properties. He is not a brilliant individual, this youth with the weak mouth and the wide-opened eyes—stolid, rather, and harmless, who might scramble through life without disaster. It would be a pleasure to see more of the landscape. The doorway on the left is adorned with sculptures recalling those in the New York Madonna.

A pair of portraits equal in dimensions and matching one another in background are the Edward Grimston in the Verulam Collection and the lady at Berlin, the former dated 1446. Man and wife we guess them to be—Grimston's first wife, if she was painted in the same year.[1] According to Waagen, the original frame bore the painter's name, and recorded the fact that the lady was a Talbot. It is remarkable that Christus should blunder so in the drawing of eyes. The lady can hardly have been so cockeyed as he makes her. He does better with Grimston. To me his picture seems later in date than hers, but the condition of the two works may be responsible for the divergence. At all events, Christus painted the man in a bolder style than before, blocking out the masses of shadow with original force, but pursuing the likeness into less detail than the Van Eycks.

A portrait of a Carthusian monk as a saint is in the collection of the Marquis de Dos Aguas at Valencia, and has recently been published by Friedländer. It is a completer presentment of a human character than any of the foregoing. The head is modelled

[1] The trouble is that the name of Grimston's first wife is not known. It would be such a comfort if we could prove that she was a Talbot. Franks in *Archæologia* (xl, p. 470) shows that her arms were probably "Gules three bars gemelles argent," and he adds that she was probably a member of Margaret of Anjou's suite. She must have accompanied Grimston to Flanders if Christus painted her portrait, but the ten published volumes (1863–1906) of Inventory of Documents of the Archives départementales du Nord (Lille), though they mention Grimston and his fellow-envoy Kent in 1446, at dates covered by the entries from Rymer, ignore any wife. In the *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, vol. x (ed. J. A. Twemlow), 1915, p. 305, an entry under date March 16, 144$\frac{7}{8}$, refers to "Edward Grymyston, nobleman, esquire, lord of Helsterwyk (= Elsternwick in Holderness), and Alice his wife, noblewoman," but nothing is said of her parentage. The above facts were obtained for me by Mr. H. Clifford Smith, of the V. & A. Museum, from his colleague Mr. A. van de Put, who kindly searched all available authorities.

in great detail, especially about the brow; the expression is sly. The man might be on the verge of smiling, but remains mightily observant. The body is enclosed in the robe of his order, massively blocked out as a good designer of wood-sculpture would have designed it. The handling of the light is admirable. Christus should have confined his attention to portraiture. The world of dreams was no place for him. He did not dwell with imagined saints. Like most of the people of his day, he was truly interested only in the world and the men of the day. In painting them he did not waste his time.

An entertaining picture of the interior of a goldsmith's shop, painted in the year 1449, shows an advance in the same direction toward summary treatment. It was long well known in the Oppenheim Collection at Cologne and now belongs to Mr. Philip Lehmann, of New York. It is usually said to represent an incident in the legend of St. Eloy and St. Godeberta, and is reported to have belonged to the Corporation of Goldsmiths at Antwerp. It may, however, be doubted whether the halo round the goldsmith's head is original. All three heads are obviously portraits; the bride and bridegroom, who have come to buy a wedding-ring, doubtless primarily intended that such they should be. Whether they put themselves into the position of legendary personages matters nothing to us, for it is a mid-fifteenth century shop in Bruges that we are shown, not the seventh century studio of Dagobert's treasurer and artist. The goldsmith is extraordinarily like Dunois, Bastard of Orleans (born 1402), as depicted in advanced years in a portrait attributed to Fouquet, but the resemblance is probably accidental. In any case, the three portraits are well enough, though they lack animation, and are a little like coloured wooden figures. What makes the goldsmith's picture popular is the shop and the goods that are for sale. Mr. H. Clifford Smith, in a delightful monograph,[1] in which he has studied and explained every detail, tells us that the bridegroom wears the badge of the Dukes of Guelders. Wherever we see a convex mirror we naturally suspect imitation of Van Eyck's Arnolfini picture. This is to go too far. But when that mirror reflects two approaching persons,

[1] *The Goldsmith and the Young Couple . . . by Petrus Christus.* London, privately printed, 1915; and *Burlington Magazine*, September 1914.

as here and in Campin's Werl wings, the dependence becomes probable, especially in this case where a marrying couple are in question. As for the scales, weights, coins, and the stock-in-trade, Mr. Clifford Smith explains and identifies them all, pointing out in particular the "tongue-stones" or fossilized sharks' teeth similar to those yielded by the black crag at Boom, near Antwerp. The ewers, cups, a crystal reliquary, the rings, brooches, bag, and all the rest, quicken the envy of a modern collector, which is equivalent to saying that they are well rendered.

Also from 1449 dates a half-length Madonna nursing the Child, now in the collection of Count Matuschka-Greiffenau, Schloss Vollrads, near Wiesbaden, which some years ago was discovered beneath a Late Renaissance Crucifixion painted over Christus' composition.[1]

The last known picture by our artist is a Mourning over the Body of Christ, in the Brussels Gallery, to be dated in or after the year 1460, as Hulin proved from the shaven heads. An earlier version of the same subject is in the New York Museum, but that in the Schloss Collection in Paris appears to be either a copy of a lost original or an imitation by some follower. In the Brussels picture there are further traces of the influence of Campin and even of Roger. The landscape has lost the old charm and the rocks are beginning to crack up. The composition is scattered, though better than in the earlier Crucifixion, the best indeed that Christus, working hard, could devise. He also tried to be pathetic, and he painted all the heads with a good deal of care; but the work, as a whole, leaves us cold and enables us to part from the artist without regret. A French picture of the same subject in the Louvre, painted toward the end of the century, may owe something to the Brussels panel. But enough of Christus! If the reader is not bored with him, the writer is, and joyfully turns to more interesting artists.

[1] See reproduction in the *Cicerone*, 1910, plate facing p. 224. The signature and date are on the frame, as was the case with the portrait of Grimston's wife.

CHAPTER X

ROBERT CAMPIN AND JACQUES DARET

ROBERT CAMPIN[1] was an important artist of the same generation as John van Eyck. He must have been born about 1378, seeing that he was 28 years old when he settled in Tournay about 1406. Obviously, therefore, he was a formed artist before that date. Where did he come from? Where did he get his education? Out of what school did he arise? We have no picture by him of date early enough to aid us in answering these questions. The Tournay accounts contain numerous references to work done by him, but not to pictures. He had to paint statues, coats-of-arms, banners, and, once, a considerable piece of wall-decoration with equestrian figures of the Kings of France and Aragon. He would likewise have been called upon to design the sculptures he afterwards had to decorate, for such was the custom at Tournay. But from all the records we only learn that Campin prospered. Walloon historians not unnaturally wish to believe that so early and considerable an artist was of French-speaking origin. They note that the name Campin is not uncommon in Hainault, notably at Valenciennes, where it occurs frequently at this period; and they further, and with obvious force, point out that on a critical occasion our Robert received potent protection from the Duchess of Hainault, when he had been condemned to a year's exile because of his dissolute life. Nevertheless, it is tempting to look elsewhere for his origin. His very name suggests the Limbourg Campine in the neighbourhood of Maastricht, whence came the Van Eycks and the de Limbourgs and other famous artists of this generation. At Maastricht was an important school of art of ancient standing to which all of these men were debtors. Further,

[1] See M. Houtart, *Jacques Daret*, a pamphlet published (without date) by Casterman at Tournay.

when Robert Campin settled at Tournay he brought with him his wife, Isabella of Stockhem, and Stockhem is "a village on the left bank of the Maas within a short distance of Maaseyck." Thus persons of Flemish prejudices have likewise a case: *adhuc sub judice lis est.*

There is a good deal of fifteenth century Tournay sculpture existing, chiefly in the form of mural memorial reliefs, with man and wife kneeling before the Virgin, and the like subjects. Little in any of them known to me recalls the design or the style of Campin. He cannot have formed his style at Tournay. Unless he had come in contact with the Van Eycks, how did he learn to employ their method of laying on colour? By 1430 or 1440, no doubt, the process had become more or less generally diffused in Flanders and thereabouts, but Campin was at the top of his productivity then and soon about to go out of business. We are almost driven to conclude, with Hulin, that Campin must have worked under the Van Eycks when they were in the service of William of Bavaria. In the Prado at Madrid is a well-known picture containing, framed by incomplete architecture, the Marriage of the Virgin and the legendary incident preceding it. The temple scene is under an open-sided dome supported on decorated columns, two of which Mr. Weale assured us resemble two in the Cathedral of Tournay. He likewise states that the sections of certain mouldings, which the artist carefully displays, prove that the picture cannot be later in date than 1425. It is thus contemporary with Hubert van Eyck's work on the Adoration of the Lamb, and, probably, also with the original of the Fountain of Living Water, likewise at Madrid. Analogies with the latter picture are evident, especially among the discomfited Jews. There is in both the same trick of people turning their back, similar awkward gestures, and so forth. Simultaneity and origin in a common artistic medium might account for such resemblances, but not easily. Campin is revealed by this picture as a vigorous awkward artist, with considerable capacity for narration, a liking for the bizarre, an interest in peculiar types of people and agitated expressions, a relative indifference to formal beauty even in women, an eagerness to crowd folk together and make them all busy about one another—plenty of action and reaction of character, and a

choice of good, rich colours, brightly mosaic'd together. The most attractive figure is that of a woman with turbaned head-dress, who turns her back. Her hair is elaborately arranged, and she wears a cloak with jewelled borders. Such a figure is characteristic of our artist.

But Dr. Winkler has pointed out another possible origin for some, at least, of the elements of Campin's style. If he derived a factor of his art from Hubert or the Maastricht School, there are other factors in it not thence derived. These, according to Dr. Winkler, were of Burgundian origin. To talk of a Burgundian school of art in the days of Duke Philip the Hardy, or his son John, is premature. There were many artists in the employ of the Duke, but by no means all of them worked at Dijon. Broederlam, for instance, had his studio at Ypres. Still, the building and decoration of Champmol Abbey brought a number of important artists together, and they must have reacted upon one another, and, as we can see, did so react. Panel-pictures produced in that medium were not numerous, but there were some, and of them a few survive. They may be attributed to the first quarter of the fifteenth century. The Martyrdom of St. Denis altar-piece, the roundel of the Pietà, and another small Pietà (all three in the Louvre), another Pietà at Troyes, diptychs in the Morgan Collection and the Bargello, and triptychs in the Mayer van den Bergh (Antwerp) and the Berlin Museums exemplify the kind of paintings to which we refer. The first two of the above and the Troyes Pietà were probably painted at Dijon. The St. Denis altar-piece in the Louvre may be chosen as representative for present purposes. Little doubt is there but that it came from Champmol Abbey. It may well have been the picture which Henri Bellechose of Brabant was ordered to paint for Duke Jean Sans Peur, and was paid for in the year 1416. That, however, was ten years after Campin was settled at the head of a painter's business at Tournay. Moreover, we may as justifiably put the picture forward as an example of Brabant as of Dijon work. It might even be argued that resemblances in it to what Campin painted may have been derived from him, and that Bellechose of Brabant may have studied the earlier work of Campin of Tournay. Resemblances of style are, in fact, discoverable, as Winkler explains,

line by line and detail by detail—all obvious, however, by comparison of photographs, without need of words. The Louvre picture is ugly enough in its present condition, and probably always was, but it is forceful. Anyone can see that this is art with a future, not decadent like the work of the late fourteenth century miniaturists. It possesses in common with the Madrid Marriage of the Virgin the force and some of the ugliness. If we take the St. Denis as example of what Brabant or Dijon, if you please, could produce in the way of pictures about 1415, then Campin's picture, to my thinking, shows what resulted from crossing that style with the style of Hubert van Eyck, and expressing it, not in the old method of tempera, but in the new method of laying on colours, which Hubert had invented.

It is a far cry from the style of Campin, as revealed in any of his known pictures, to that of contemporary Italian art; yet a faint echo of Italy did somehow reach the Tournay studio at one moment of his career, and he was destined to pass it on to an ever-widening circuit of imitators. We find it in a much-copied picture of the Virgin, who stands in the apse of a church with a harp-playing angel on one side of her and a lute-playing angel on the other. Incidentally, we may mention that the white-robed Virgin is often characteristic of Madonna pictures painted for Spain, and that many, perhaps most, of the examples of Campin's Madonna have come out of Spain in recent years. It is not necessary to conclude that Campin went to Spain. There was much picture-traffic between Spain and the Netherlands in the fifteenth century. The Madrid Marriage of the Virgin, for instance, was doubtless made for a Spanish patron, seeing that on the back of it are two painted imitations in stone-colour of sculptured figures in niches; one of them the Spanish St. Jago of Compostella, the other St. Clara, who was scarcely less popular in Spain.

It is not, however, with Campin's white Virgin that we are now concerned, but with the two angels, the harpist and lutist. Whence did they come flying over to Tournay? The answer is, from Italy. The enthroned Virgin with angels about her was a Byzantine type taken up in Italy at an early date, as the famous Rucellai Madonna in Florence proves. It was not, however, until the end of the fourteenth century, I believe, that Italian angels

began to learn music. Orchestras of angels become common in Florence and all over Italy in the fifteenth century, but it is not the orchestras that we have to deal with, only this pair—the harpist and lutist on either hand of a Virgin and Child. Once you begin to look for them you find them cropping up all over Europe in the fifteenth century: a pair readily recognizable and always obviously descending by a well-marked tradition. It was Campin who gave them vogue in North Europe, but he did not invent them. Sometimes the lute is replaced by a viol—a trifling change—but with that exception the pair travel together from studio to studio and from country to country.

By whom they were first invented I cannot say, not having hunted through all the galleries and churches of Europe, but the first appearance I am able to record is in an altar-piece by Agnolo Gaddi (ob. 1396).[1] They also kneel on one knee on either side of a signed Madonna by Taddeo di Bartolo, dated 1400, which is in the church of St. Caterina della Notte at Siena; and they appear seated in a retable by the same artist, dated 1403. I find them again in two other pictures in the Perugia gallery, both painted by the Umbrian Giovanni Boccati da Camerino (one dated 1447), as well as in a Madonna which was in the Nevin sale (1907, No. 235), and in a painting in the Johnson Collection at Philadelphia attributed by Berenson to Francesco di Gentile da Fabriano. It would be easy to multiply Sienese and Umbrian examples, but let these suffice.

By some agency—a travelling manuscript illuminator or what you please to guess—these angels came over the Alps and down the Rhine, stopping at Mayence on the way, where a nameless but attractive painter, about the year 1420, introduced them into the Ortenberger altar-piece now in Darmstadt Museum. Thence they travelled on to Tournay, and were painted by Campin, standing on either hand of the Madonna in question. Two examples of this Madonna were at one time simultaneously on view in London; some critics thought one was the original and some thought the other. They are now in the National Gallery and the Metropolitan Museum in New York; it is quite likely that both came from Campin's shop. The design must have attained immediate success,

[1] Reinach's *Repertoire*, i, 191.

for no less than twelve ancient repetitions of it are known, and others appear to have passed through sale-rooms and vanished.[1] It is thus certain that Campin's picture had great vogue in its day and is sure to have attracted the attention of contemporary painters. It is the first instance of that copying and recopying of a popular type which became so frequent and is so wearisome in the work of commonplace Netherlands guild-painters of the last third of the fifteenth and early years of the sixteenth centuries.

It is worth note in passing that the Child in Campin's picture is very like Hubert van Eyck's babies, and very unlike the ordinary run of John's, while the sentiment with which the Virgin clasps it is thoroughly Hubertesque; perhaps even the idea of the Virgin standing within a church may have been derived from the picture we discussed above. Campin's central group in its turn was imitated more than once, but for the Virgin and Child alone it was another picture by him—a roundel—that had greatest vogue, and was copied even oftener than the work we are discussing.[2]

Memling appears to have been the next Netherlander to bring the angel pair into his pictures. We find them on either side of the Virgin in the beautiful Uffizi panel. She of the viol has stopped playing to offer an apple to the Child, but the harpist twangs away. In another painting of similar character belonging to the Duke of Westminster, an admirable work by a follower in the next generation, the viol angel is walking off in the background—sent on an errand, perhaps, or merely bored. Both these pictures contain Italian elements in the architecture and accessories, so that it may be claimed that the angels also came over from Italy direct and not by way of Tournay. This, however, cannot be said of those in Gerard David's triptych in the Louvre, which are obviously Campin's, and so are those in the pretty Madonna in the Johnson Collection at Philadelphia. Another tiny pair are carved as arm-bosses on the throne in the same artist's Stem of Jesse at Dijon. These are by no means the only occasions

[1] Winkler mentions thirteen, but his Robinson and New York examples are the same picture.

[2] The best example of the roundel is in the Johnson Collection at Philadelphia. The number of copies is legion. Curiously enough, it sometimes appears as pendant to another roundel with music-making angels.

when David took a hint from Campin. Other followers of Memling repeated the theft, but it would be tedious to make a mere list of their pictures. Miniaturists also painted them in Flemish manuscripts.[1]

An indifferent early Netherlands engraver, known as the "Master of the Death of Mary" (not to be confused with the painter so designated), borrowed this angel-pair and, launching them aloft, engraved them hovering over the Virgin's head. Other Flemish engravings of the type may exist. The Rhenish engraver "E. S." likewise employed them (Lehrs, No. 83), and it is still more remarkable to come across them in a careful drawing by the boy Albert Dürer, done in the year 1485, at least twelve months before he entered as apprentice into Wolgemut's studio. This drawing may have been copied from some lost print. Without lingering to search through all the galleries of German pictures, it will suffice to note that by 1500 the two angels were at home in Styria, where a local painter depicted them, each standing on a pedestal, in a picture now in the Liechtenstein Collection.

As these angels had flown over the Alps to the Netherlands, so presently they took their course thence over the Pyrenees to Spain. This was to be expected, seeing that Campin's type was so numerously represented there. They are found in one of a series of paintings (wrongly ascribed to David) in the Archbishop's Palace at Evora, which was reproduced by the Arundel Club. Their latest appearance, as far as I can discover, is in a picture attributed to Vicente Juan de Juanes, which is or was in the King of Roumania's collection at Bucharest.

If the reader has not skipped these dull paragraphs, he will have derived from them an idea of how Flemish painters, whether contemporaries or of succeeding generations, borrowed frankly from one another and repeated popular features. Sometimes they copied with exact fidelity; more often they copied freely, but they had no hesitation in taking good things wherever they found them, and this was true of the best as of the worst.

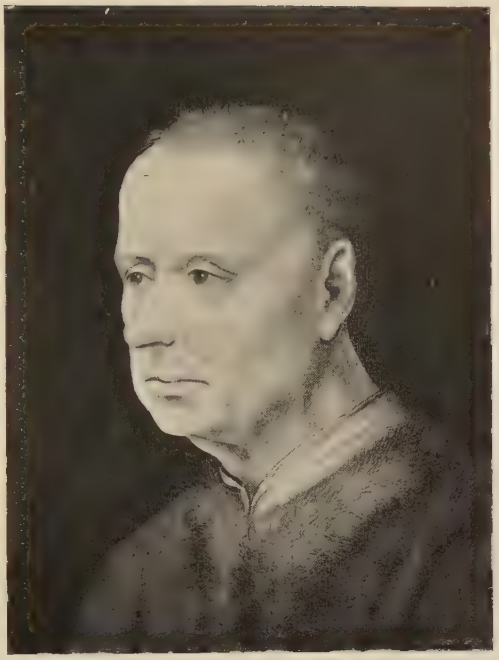
One of the most famous of Campin's pictures is the Inghel-

[1] For example, in a mid-fifteenth century Book of Hours in the Jeffery Whitehead Collection, once exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club.

brechts Annunciation triptych, belonging to the Mérode family in Brussels. It owes some of its reputation to the fact that shortly after it had been identified as the work of our artist, when he was just being disentangled from Roger van der Weyden, to whom his pictures were previously assigned, the owners shut the picture up, and for a long series of years allowed nobody to see it! Not till the Golden Fleece Exhibition at Bruges in 1907 did it again emerge into publicity and justify its fame. It is undoubtedly a most interesting work, for all its bad perspective and rudimentary figure-drawing. Such scientific details, as a matter of fact, are neither here nor there with a work of art, which may be good without them or bad though possessing them all in strict regularity. The whole picture is in fact pleasant to look upon. It charms the eye. It is a fine thing to see and stirs the cockles of delight. It also contains many entertaining details—such a nice pot on such a nice table, and such a bench! What would we not give could we find them for sale in an old furniture shop? Thus it is with all the details of the room. They are more prominent here, and there seem to be more of them, than in Van Eyck's Arnolfini. That is because Van Eyck was more entertained by the people and the light, Campin by the bric-à-brac. He also could paint portraits well enough, as the left wing of the triptych proves, but far more entertaining than the donors to him and to us is St. Joseph on the other wing. You may, indeed must, call him St. Joseph, but he is, in fact, a very respectable and comfortably dressed master-carpenter of Tournay about 1425–30. He has finished making, of all things in the world, a mouse-trap! and he has put another out on the flap-table outside his window to attract customers. Why should St. Joseph make mouse-traps? Colin de Coter gave him the same job in the background of his picture of St. Luke painting the Virgin, but Colin was a bold plagiarist of Campin. What a nice little work-shop it is!—just as nice in its way as the Virgin's chamber, and for us especially attractive because of the view out of the window. It must always have been a pleasant view. Campin evidently liked it, for he painted it again with unimportant changes in other pictures. Presumably it was a view of some square in Tournay with a side-street leading out of it toward a big church,



1. THE DUKE'S BANQUET. CHANTILLY HOURS (fol. 1 v.).—p. 77.



2. J. VAN EYCK. PORTRAIT. PHILADELPHIA. p. 67.



3. R. CAMPIN. WING OF INGHELBRECHTS ALTAR. p. 118.



4. R. CAMPIN. THE VIRGIN OF SALAMANCA. NEW YORK.—p. 115.

[*To face page* 118.

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but I can find nothing in that city that agrees with it. To us, however, it is a view, not so much of this or that particular place, but straight into the fifteenth century! There we have the real thing—the houses, the shops, the people, the churches, just as they used to look, before anyone had talked of town-planning, all so charmingly set out, so prettily designed, so well built, and in such admirable common proportions and harmonious style. Never since those days has any city of Europe presented a like unity of style and harmony of good effect. But we cannot linger over every picture of our master. The Salting Virgin in the National Gallery must pass with a mere mention, and as for lost pictures of which only copies remain—the Tomyris and the Jael, for instance—well! they also have now been mentioned, and that shall suffice. In the J. G. Johnson Collection is a panel with two large-scale heads of Christ and the Virgin. The former may owe something to the Head by John van Eyck, which is only known to us by copies. This is the earliest example of such a pair. Later Netherlands artists frequently repeated this type either on one or on two separate panels. The latest well-known example is the picture by Quentin Massys at Antwerp, whereof there is a school replica in the National Gallery. Even in that, the affiliation to Campin's original remains evident.

In 1427, which may be about the time we have reached in Campin's activities, a notable change took place in his affairs. He received two important pupils: on March 5 Rogelet de la Pasture, whom we generally and unfortunately call Roger van der Weyden, and on April 12 Jacquelotte (or Jacques) Daret. So the Tournay registers tell us, and it seems straightforward enough until we note that when Roger began his apprenticeship he was already 27 years of age. It is still more surprising to read that, on the 17th of November of the previous year, the city of Tournay presented eight measures of wine to "Maistre Rogier de la Pasture." We know what such presents of wine imply. We have already cited Dürer's account of his entertainment by the Painters' Guild of Antwerp, and how "the Syndic of Antwerp came, with two servants, and presented me with four measures of wine in the name of the Town Councillors of Antwerp, and they had bidden him to say that they wished thereby to show their

respect for me and to assure me of their good-will." Again, on October 18, 1427, the town of Tournay presented four measures of wine to the painter John (almost surely Van Eyck), who was attending the banquet of the Tournay Guild. If Roger was Master Roger in 1426, how did he come to be apprentice Roger in 1427 ? Some reply that apprentice Roger must have been a different person, and that only the Master Roger of 1426 was the famous Roger van der Weyden. But Roger van der Weyden's numerous well-known pictures prove him to have been powerfully influenced by Campin—so powerfully that he must have been his pupil. Suppose, then, the Master Roger of 1426 to have been another person. He must have been eminent for the town to give him eight measures of wine and the great John only four. Why, then, do we never hear or read of him again ? It is a puzzle and the explanation is what you please. The two entries probably apply to the same person. The copyist may have blundered about the dates. The original document does not exist, I believe.

Roger, then, in 1427, was the honoured Master of some craft, and became an apprentice in painting to Campin. Daret also may have been well advanced in art, for almost as soon as he left Campin in 1432 he received a very important commission, not likely to have been given to a young untried journeyman. We may therefore conclude that these young artists were a valuable addition to Campin's forces, and while they were with him he probably painted two great triptychs represented now by panels in the Frankfurt gallery—the triptych of the Descent from the Cross and the triptych said to have been in the Abbey of Flémalle or that of Falin near Sedan. To the same period may also be assigned the Madonna at Aix in Provence and the Nativity at Dijon.

The Descent from the Cross triptych is known from a copy on a small scale in Liverpool Gallery, which came from the Hospital of St. Julian at Bruges, the only fragment of the original remaining being the upper part of the right (or sinister) wing at Frankfurt. There can be no doubt that the wings at Liverpool repeat the originals, but was the central panel really a Descent from the Cross ? The wings appear to belong to a Crucifixion. Now, in Bruges Cathedral is a Crucifixion in which the Thieves are

copied from those on the Frankfurt wings, so perhaps the original central panel had a Christ on the Cross.[1] It is not a matter of much importance, for it is clear that the central panel at Liverpool depicting the Descent is copied from a picture by Campin, and it is one of which there is another copy known,[2] and by which Roger was powerfully influenced. As for Campin's Flémalle triptych, we possess only the wings, with their life-size figures of the Virgin and St. Veronica[3] on the front and the Trinity in monochrome on the back of one of them. The subject of the centre-piece is unknown, if ever there was a central painting at all.

The design of Campin's Descent from the Cross is preserved in the Liverpool copy; its quality is vouched for by the Frankfurt fragment. It must have been a notable work. The figures were life-size; the action dramatic, if awkward. There were splendid draperies richly coloured. There were horrors of wounds depicted with blood-curdling veracity. How the whole must have overwhelmed the people for whom it was painted! A gorgeous decorative effect was aimed at, and to that end the background was of richly patterned gold. Campin intended it to be as dramatic as possible, and he had, no doubt, plenty of opportunity to receive suggestions from mystery plays in which he had beheld this same scene acted in the market-place of Tournay or elsewhere. Grant that his composition lacks rhythm of line, that the figures are awkwardly grouped; there is yet a certain splendour about the thing that is undeniable, whilst the wings reach a height of distinction which perhaps might be cited as throwing some doubt upon the centre-piece. That, however, we must remember is only visible to us through the dim medium of poor copies.

The Flémalle wings speak for themselves; they are imposing not merely in size but by an essential dignity which belongs to

[1] There is yet another copy of the wing Thieves in an engraving by the so-called "Master of 1466." In that they are combined with a copy of Roger van der Weyden's Descent. So that we have them at Liverpool combined with a Descent copied from Campin, at Bruges combined with a Crucifixion, and in the engraving combined with a Descent by Roger. Perhaps there never was any painted centre-piece at all, and the wings may have been shutters to a group of sculpture. There is no known centre-piece for the Flémalle wings, either.

[2] A miniature among those added at Bruges to the Hours of Turin about 1445–50.

[3] A beautiful drawing, some say for, others after, the St. Veronica is in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge.

the age out of which their maker arose.[1] It was by these panels that Campin emerged in modern days from a long oblivion. When attention began to be paid to such matters, it was recognized that Roger van der Weyden could not have painted them; they must be the work of some other artist, who was provisionally named "the Master of Flémalle." Other pictures were from time to time grouped with them, till finally it became evident that the only recorded artist whose date and known career matched this group of works was Robert Campin. Conservative writers still, however, continue to call him by the non-committal designation aforesaid.

Turn we next to the Madonna[2] in the Gallery at Aix in Provence, where she sits on a solid bench floating in the air. Nothing less accordant with the idea of flotation can be conceived, but for all that the picture pleases. Other artists imitated this same arrangement. There is an echo of it in the beautiful diptych of Jeanne de Bourbon at Chantilly by an unidentified master. When critics fail to place a picture they generally fall foul of it and call it second-rate, as has happened in this case. But the Chantilly picture is not second-rate at all; it is one of the most delightful works of about 1460–5, painted probably by a Frenchman who was a follower of Campin, had seen some of the works of Roger, and had passed through the same artistic medium out of which emerged both Memling and the painter of the panels of the shrine of St. Omer Abbey, who is often identified with Simon Marmion. From the Chantilly picture, in turn, the Maître de Moulins took the idea and the pose of his admirable Virgin, enthroned in the sky among angels, the altar-piece of Moulins Cathedral, which was painted in the last year or two of the century.

Two pictures remain to us and a drawing of a third which belong to Campin's last period, that is to say, after Roger and Daret had left him. They are the wings (at Madrid) of an altar-piece painted for Heinrich von Werl, dated 1438, and a Crucifixion in the Berlin

[1] A proof of their early date is the existence (noted by Hulin) of a copy of the figure of the bad Thief in a MS. of 1430.

[2] Hulin thinks the picture was painted for Eaucourt Abbey in Artois in the days of Abbot Pierre l'Escuyer. A copy of it at Douai came out of St. Bertin's Abbey at St. Omer.

Museum. The drawing is in the Louvre—a Virgin seated in a room on a bench between saints and donors. There is nothing striking about the Werl wings. St. Barbara is seated in a delightful room on the usual bench, with her back to a bright fire, which does not smoke, but perhaps that is because the window is open so that we can see in the distance workmen building her tower. On the other wing the donor is kneeling with a very leggy John Baptist standing behind him. For quiet, unadvertising excellence, these are, perhaps, Campin's best paintings.

Heinrich von Werl was a notable Professor at Cologne University who, in this same year, 1438, was present at the Council at Basle. It has been noted that painters of the Upper Rhine district show knowledge of Campin's style and were influenced by him. That, of course, may have been because some of them came to the Netherlands to study, but it is also possible that Campin himself was at the Council when he painted this picture. The weakest part of it, scientifically, is the way the Virgin sits on the bench, but it is almost correct. All his life long Campin had trouble with sitting people. He began with merely dropping them anyhow on the floor as in the Mérode Annunciation, or miraculously supporting them in front of the bench, as in the Salting Madonna. As time went on, he managed to give the idea of their being propped up on an invisible stool under their draperies, as in the Petrograd Madonna (who was thought by an astoundingly dense critic to be about to smack the Child lying on her lap!). In the Aix picture the Virgin is at last put upon her bench, though not properly seated on it—she rather sits *in* it, as though the seat were hollowed, and there are traces of this mistake lingering even in the Werl St. Barbara, but in the Paris drawing the difficulty is at last overcome. I mention these unimportant blunders because they have helped students to discover the chronological order of the pictures, and thus to manifest the artist's development.

The portrait of Werl on the wing-panel is a good presentment of the man, but if one wants to know what Campin could do in the way of portrait-painting one must turn to the National Gallery heads of a well-balanced, reliable, intelligent husband, and his eminently good, conventional little wife—excellent, well-to-do, soundly dressed burgher folk, the like of whom in quantity would

make a strong nation. A monk's portrait-bust at Berlin shows the best Campin could make of a far less estimable person, a fat, self-indulgent, fussy, anxious kind of man, with all sorts of tendencies to contend against in himself and no appearance of either power or desire to resist them. Campin gives us the facts about the people brutally, not delicately like John van Eyck. Thus they looked to the bold spectator. He does not trouble, has not the gift, to penetrate below the surface. A comparison between John's Canon de Pala and Campin's Monk shows better than words the difference of quality between the two artists.

It is known that Campin lived, or was said to have lived, "a dissolute life." It may have been so, or perhaps he was merely mixed up in local politics, and thus described in the kindly fashion of political opponents. He is long dead and gone to another dissolution. But he has left behind him pictures which folk have found it pleasant to take care of for nearly five hundred years, so that much may be forgiven to him. After all, our output is the thing that concerns those that follow us, and Campin's output was more than respectable. Not only his works but his influence continued, and for the best part of a century reminiscences of his inventions keep appearing and reappearing in pictures painted by artists who never saw him and many of whom had never, perhaps, heard his name. Thus it comes about that lost pictures by him can be identified by copies and imitations of later date, the hunting-up of which is a pleasant sport for specialists, but would only weary the reader for whom this book is intended. For him enough has been written about Campin ; perhaps too much. He died in the year 1444.

Before dealing at length with that most important artist, Campin's pupil, Roger van der Weyden, it will be best to finish with his fellow-pupil and contemporary, Jacques Daret. Four panels of an altar-piece by him have been identified in recent years. Two are in America and two in the Berlin Museum. Their subjects are the Visitation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Presentation in the Temple. They are interesting pictures, but would not delay us long were it only with the pictures that we had to acquaint ourselves. The most interesting fact about them, now and to us, is that they were proved by Professor Hulin to be

by this said Jacques Daret, and the proof was one of the most conspicuous and brilliant contributions to the history of the early Netherlands painters that even so great a student and investigator of the subject has rendered. For the outlines of the life of Daret had been revealed with unusual completeness by existing archives; but what was the good of such knowledge unless we could point to pictures by him? It was known that both he and Roger were Campin's pupils. Roger's work was also known. It was guessed, but not proved, that Campin was the painter of the pictures grouped together as by "the Master of Flémalle." As soon, however, as the four panels above mentioned were demonstrated to be by Daret, it became at once obvious that Daret's master must have been "the Master of Flémalle." But records asserted that Campin was Daret's master. Campin, therefore, was the same as "the Master of Flémalle," and painted the pictures attributed to him. A corner-stone of the highest structural value was thus firmly fixed for the great historical gallery of Netherlands art.

Lesser investigators have brought to light this or the other small fact, or have linked together this or the other particular picture or pictures as the work of a single hand. The addition, correction, and co-ordination of the mass of such observations have slowly built together the rising fabric of our knowledge of the so long forgotten or neglected past; but every now and then some crucial discovery is made, usually as the result of patient research by a man of exceptional industry and ability, which binds together and vivifies the collective observations of minor observers and enables a whole new chapter of art-history to be written. Such a discovery was this of Professor Hulin's; we cannot afford to pass it over lightly.

The man of action looks upon the student as a "dry antiquarian"; but research is as much a sport as big game shooting. Just as the whole emotion of a battle can be expressed in music, so all the sport of a fox-hunt may be experienced in research. The little discoveries are, each in its turn, so many chases ending in a "kill"; the thrill of discovery is the incentive to this sport. It is only physical exertion that is lacking, but that is no essential part of sport; it is a delightful accompaniment

of most sports, not of all. The pursuit, the checks, the disappointments, the excitement when the scent is found or refound, the quarry in sight, overtaken, captured—these are the elements of which sport is built up. The student who pursues and makes a discovery enjoys them all; but his pursuit lasts for weeks, months, it may be years; and the quarry, when he catches and holds it, is a thing won for ever and added to the stock of precious and fruitful knowledge. Let one who has tried several forms of sport be permitted to assert that the sport of research is perhaps the best of all. I have never shot a tiger and never shall, but I can well imagine the feelings of a hunter who has laid low the mighty monarch of the jungle. Such almost exactly are the feelings of the discoverer who at length finds the clue that explains the course of history, and brings order into the chaotic records and remains of some period of the distant past.

The important panels we must now consider formed part of the painted exterior of the shutters of a sculptured altar-piece, made for Jean du Clercq, Abbot of St. Vaast's at Arras (1428–62), one of the councillors of Duke Philip the Good; that was the clue which old documents yielded to Hulin's patient research. They proved that the Abbot was immensely proud of his new altar-piece, which had but recently been set up before the visit of an important papal embassy on the 9th of July, 1435.[1] The legate was that same Cardinal of Santa Croce, Niccolò Albergati, whose portrait (as we have seen) John van Eyck painted at this time. The legate was conducted by the Abbot to see the new altar-piece, and he "took pleasure in admiring the pictures." So much for the question of date. The Abbot's accounts preserve the name of the artist who painted both panels and sculptures—he was Jacques Daret, then dwelling at Arras. But Daret, in January 1433, was established at Tournay. Hence the work must have been begun not earlier than some time in 1433 and finished before July 1435.

It fortunately happened that another patient student, M. Maurice Houtart, working through the archives of Tournay, had already discovered and published in the above cited pamphlet a number of important facts about the lives of Robert Campin and Jacques Daret. From this we learn that the Darets were an

established family of craftsmen settled in Tournay, where Jacques was born about the year 1403. He was put at an early age to live and work in the household of Campin, but it was not till he had so worked for nine years that he began a five years' formal apprenticeship, just about the time when Master Roger entered into a like relation with Campin. These apprentices must have been valuable assistants from the start—an unusual condition of affairs, one would suspect. In October 1432 Daret became a master-painter, and was immediately thereupon appointed provost of the guild! Next year he went off to Arras to work for the Abbot, and thenceforward, whether at Arras, Tournay, or elsewhere, he was, no doubt, well employed. It is specially noteworthy that in 1468 he was summoned to Bruges and there worked for eleven weeks at the head of a number of artists, whose business was to furnish the decorations for the wedding of Charles the Rash and Margaret of York—and that is the last we hear about him. Daniel Daret, his half-brother and pupil, succeeded John van Eyck as official painter of Philip the Good, but nothing is known of his work.

As for the four important panels themselves, the obvious fact about all of them is their close dependence on Campin. It could scarcely have been otherwise. After thirteen years continuous work from boyhood under one master, Daret could not have failed to receive a deep impression from his art. It would be easy to cite analogies for every picture, but an examination of one—the Visitation (Berlin)—will suffice. It is the panel which contains also the kneeling portrait of the donor. The event takes place in the open air, with a landscape stretching away, a fine moated castle in the background, and a road winding off in another direction to a secluded village. It is not a bit like one of the Van Eyck landscapes, but it is well enough. The Abbot is not a beauty, but the artist couldn't help that, so he hung his coat-of-arms on a tree close by, gave him a fine crozier to hold, and put his jewelled mitre on the ground before him—details which the old chronicler of St. Vaast fortunately set down, so that we know this must be the picture he was referring to. The Virgin and St. Elizabeth are obviously figures of Campin's invention. Their types are common in his pictures, especially the Virgin's, with

hair turned back over the ear and waving down over her shoulders. One would guess that Campin must have painted a Visitation which Daret imitated here, as did Roger also about the same time. Daret is a clumsier painter than Roger—decorative, loving brilliant colours, the maker of things cheerful to look upon, but no great artist for all that, and in the long run, one suspects, better employed in decorations for court functions than on altar-pieces. No other pictures by him are known for certain, but this one suffices, not primarily for its beauty, but for the important historical clue that Hulin had drawn from it. Over the artist himself we need not linger.[1]

[1] For Professor Hulin on Jacques Daret, see *The Burlington Magazine*, xv (1909), pp. 202–8, and xix (1911), pp. 218–25.

CHAPTER XI

ROGER VAN DER WEYDEN

It is a pity that the name of this important artist should be remembered under the form written at the head of this chapter. Being a French-speaking person, he would not have called himself "Van der Weyden," but "de la Pasture," as, in fact, the name is written in those Tournay registers above referred to, where his existence is first recorded. Some of us, whom the dire misfortunes of the Great War brought in contact with many Belgian wounded and refugees, have begun to grasp the fact that modern Belgium is peopled by two several races, dwelling side by side but differing fundamentally from one another. We divide them broadly into Flemings and Walloons, the former speaking a language which foreigners can scarcely distinguish from Dutch, the latter talking French. The Netherland provinces in the fifteenth century were similarly peopled by Flemish-speaking and French-speaking folk. To the former belonged the Van Eycks, to the latter Roger de la Pasture. Artists of these two groups, however similar the technique and design of their pictures may have been, and though they employed the same conventions, do, in fact, manifest their race in their works, the Flemings and Dutch being of one sort, the Walloons and French of another. Yet it is inadvisable to divide our subject along this line of cleavage, because artists of both kinds lived and worked side by side, acting and reacting on one another so intricately and intimately that they have to be regarded as belonging to a single school. The school, in fact, swallowed up whomsoever came within its vortex, and that whether he arrived as a formed artist, a master of the craft, or a budding student. Dutch Bouts and German Memling alike received the common stamp, though to the end their racial difference is observable in the work of their hands. Campin alone is hard to analyse.

He was the first important painter, settled in the French-speaking part of the country, to catch the new spirit and learn the new style and methods, but his paintings are not characterized by French lucidity, so evident a feature in the work of his pupil Roger. Flemish force rather than French grace is manifest in Campin's pictures, though it would not be wise to base conclusions or arguments on qualities so difficult to identify and almost impossible to demonstrate to an unsympathetic or hostile critic.

As already stated, one Master Rogier de la Pasture was hospitably entertained and honoured at a banquet at Tournay on November 17, 1426; in the following March one Rogelet de la Pasture became the apprentice of Robert Campin in that same city. The statements appear to be contradictory; the copyist of the register may have blundered over name or dates; but it is probable that both entries apply to the same artist.[1] In 1426 Roger was some 27 years old, having been born in 1399 or 1400, probably in a house in la Roc Saint-Nicaire at Tournay of which his father Henry de la Pasture was the recorded owner in 1408. He came of a family of metal-workers, long settled in industrious Tournay, though it is the tradition of sculpture rather than metal-work that can be traced in Roger's earliest pictures. A Henry de la Pasture is recorded as a sculptor working in 1424 for the Duke of Brabant at Louvain; he is thought to have been Roger's father. Sculptors, anyhow, were much to the fore in Tournay, as already noted, and Roger received early impressions from the busy local school.

In 1432 Roger completed his service under Campin and became a master-painter. In 1436 he is mentioned as town-painter of Brussels. For that city he made the much-admired "Justice" pictures which Dürer saw, but we cannot, the flames of war having devoured them in 1695. The only record of their composition may be in certain tapestries in the Museum at Berne, which the Swiss captured from Charles the Rash.[2] At the best, however, tapestries

[1] Basing his contentions on this passage and on the vague statements of early writers Würzbach has tried to split Roger into two different individuals, with no better success, as it seems to me, than Durand-Greville had with his bisection of Peter Christus.

[2] Doubt has been thrown upon the supposed relation of the tapestries to the burnt pictures (*Repertorium*, 1913, p. 303); but Kaufmann (*Rep.* 1916, p. 15) upholds it and

throw little light upon the quality of painted originals. If we accept as one of Roger's earliest existing works the famous Descent from the Cross in the Chapter House of the Escorial, which was painted for Notre Dame outside the walls of Louvain, it forms an admirable foundation for the study of our master. This is no tentative work, but the product of a fully formed and thoroughly independent artist, with an ideal all his own and power to give it vigorous expression. Obviously, he was here designing in terms of sculpture. There is little depth to the group of figures, no more than was supplied by the shallow gilt box or frame in which the group is represented as contained. The clever contemporary woodcarvers of that day could easily have sculptured this design in oak; and painters, whose chief business even then was to colour sculpture rather than to paint pictures, would have used the same colours and ended by turning out a work that would have produced almost the same effect as the picture itself. Anyone can see at a glance how strong an impression Roger had derived from Campin. But the pupil has surpassed the master in several very important respects. Campin's compositions are confused and haphazard compared with this. Here is a rhythm of line, a balance of mass, an informal symmetry, far beyond Campin's attainment. The lucidity of France has mastered, drilled, and brought into order his helter-skelter assemblages of folk. Moreover, Roger intelligibly employs the common language of humanity to express emotion. These people are, in fact, sorrowful. Their gestures, their looks, are those of grief. The Liverpool copy of Campin's Descent no doubt does small justice to the original, yet, making every allowance, how far that picture must have fallen behind this in emotional vividness! Roger's appeal to the feelings of his contemporaries was lucid and direct. Hence the great popularity and widespread influence of his work. The Van Eycks were greater artists, but they did not provoke such emulation and imitation as Roger. They satisfy the elect of every age; he appealed more strongly to the fifteenth century public. The style and ideal of the Van Eycks never became common guild-property, but the

claims that a head in the tapestries is a self-portrait of Roger. The face produces a very different impression from the likeness at Arras, though feature for feature the two are not, perhaps, absolutely inconsistent with one another.

guilds fastened on Roger's compositions and gave them wide currency.

Another of Roger's earliest independent works was even more popular and more frequently copied than the Descent; I refer to the picture of St. Luke making the portrait of the Virgin and Child. If any surviving example is the original, it must be that in Boston Museum, for a photograph of which I have to thank the kindness of the Director. I have never seen the picture. Full-sized contemporary copies are in the Galleries at Petrograd and Munich, and in the collection of Count Wilczeck at Vienna. An etching, after a picture containing the Virgin and Child alone, illustrated the catalogue of the De Beurnonville sale (Paris, 1881). Another excellent full-length copy of the same figure, but with greyhounds instead of people in the background, belonged to Sir Francis Palmer. As for half-length repetitions and imitations of the Virgin and Child, they are very numerous, mostly dating from about the year 1500. The best of them known to me is on the diptych of Joos van der Burg, which is in the Fogg Museum at Cambridge, U.S.A. The portrait appears to have been painted by Gerard David in or soon after 1496, the date on the back of one of the panels. The frequency with which this picture was copied may be due to the fact that it was the altar-piece of a chapel of a Guild of Painters, for which position the subject is evidently suitable. Roger obviously borrowed the general composition from the Van Eycks' Rolin Madonna, but he painted on a larger scale, in more summary fashion, and he produced a picture more easy of general comprehension. The decorated columns of his portico recall Campin's Marriage of the Virgin, but such details in no way diminish the spontaneity and originality of the work as a whole. It is natural to inquire whether he did not use his own head as model for St. Luke; but a drawing in the Arras Collection inscribed as his own portrait depicts a different kind of man. Roger cannot have been as old when he painted this Madonna as St. Luke looks. On the other hand, there is at Hermannstadt a portrait which is claimed by an old inscription on the back to be of Roger by Bouts. It might depict the same model as St. Luke at a later period of his life; but as it is a sixteenth century picture, and has nothing to do with Bouts,

the authority of the inscription is feeble. The Arras drawing has the better claim to preserve the lineaments of our artist.

It is an interesting fact that St. Luke contents himself with making a silver-point drawing of the Virgin from the life. He will paint his picture from the drawing. That was the general custom of fifteenth century portrait-painters. Sitters were busy folk and probably did not realize the necessity of giving an artist plenty of time. Thus Niccolò Albergati was, as we know, drawn with the silver-point by John van Eyck, for we possess the drawing with notes as to details of colour written on it. From that drawing the picture was painted. Such, also, was generally Holbein's method ; we happen to know that he only had one hour's sitting from Christina for the beautiful full-length picture in the National Gallery. Many of the Windsor Holbein drawings were authorities for the existing paintings done from them. By the sixteenth century, however, it is evident that some artists at least painted portraits direct from the model when they could. Massys and Mabuse must have done so, at least in some cases, unless existing paintings deceive me. Moreover, Colin de Coter, when he imitated this very Madonna by Roger, put brushes and palette into the hands of St. Luke and set up a panel on an easel before him, thus indicating a change in studio customs.

Several small, finely finished paintings, accepted as Roger's by a previous generation of historians, were taken away from him and divided between two imagined followers by recent critics, who would have nothing to write about if they were not allowed to rob dead painters of their works and attribute them to artists of their own invention. Friedländer, with his usual sanity, gives them all back again, and shows that they are to be regarded as early works by our master. They are the following :—

A diptych of the Virgin and St. Catherine at Vienna.
A seated Virgin in a niche, at Lord Northbrook's.
A Visitation in the Speck von Sternburg Coll. (Lützschena).
Another framed as a diptych with a kneeling and much over-painted donor, in Turin Gallery.
An Annunciation in the Louvre.
Another at Antwerp.

The St. Catherine in the Vienna diptych is closely connected with the St. Barbara in Campin's Werl diptych of 1438. The Louvre Annunciation[1] contains *dinanderie* and other details likewise to be found in the same panel. The hand of Christ in the Mary triptych (to be referred to presently) is identical with the Baptist's hand in the Werl wing. Here it certainly looks as though Campin was the borrower, but there may have been a yet earlier original by him which has been lost. The Visitations may both descend from Campin, for this composition was used by Daret about 1434 in the Arras picture, and the probability is evident that he took it with him from Campin's studio, and that Roger derived it from the same source.[2] Thus, in all these little pictures we find Roger manifesting the influence of his master, not slavishly but independently, taking what he needed and using it freely for his own purposes and altered according to his own design.

In both the little Madonnas the Virgin, beautifully robed, is framed within a Gothic niche adorned with sculpture excellently designed and rendered. Of all the architectural sculpture found in fifteenth century pictures of the school, this is best. The grace of the little figures and groups is undeniable. The artist's touch, moreover, is charming. There is quality even in his tiny spots of light. The hands, the features, the pose, the grouping—all is full of art. Both the Visitations are deservedly admired. The head of St. Elizabeth in that at Turin so impressed a good Antwerp painter of some fifty years later that he copied it in an altar-piece at Maria-Ter-Heyde. Moreover, the buildings in the background were certainly sketched and freely repeated at home by the German painter to whom the St. Ulrich Church at Augsburg owes a well-known picture of the legend of its patron saint. The Antwerp and Louvre Annunciations fixed a type often followed by artists of the next generation, such as the painter of the well-known Sterzing altar-piece, who used to be identified with Hans Multscher. A fine drawing of the Virgin's head and

[1] The right hand of Gabriel should hold a sceptre, which must have been painted out. It appears in the copy of the Louvre picture, which was No. 217 in the Sedelmeyer sale of 1907.

[2] An early sixteenth century Bruges school copy of the same composition was No. 17 in the Winter Exhibition of the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1905–6, lent by Mr. Henry Oppenheimer. Other repetitions are named by Winkler (p. 80).

two of the head of the Child, all in the Print Room of the British Museum, are ascribed by Winkler to the painter of this group of pictures and may be comfortably passed on to Roger himself.

Roger's early success as a painter of pathetic subjects led, we may suppose, to a demand for more of such pictures from him and his imitators. To his early period belong also the Vienna Crucifixion, that in the J. G. Johnson Collection, and the Pietàs (by him or painted in his studio) which are in Lord Powis' collection and the Brussels and Berlin Galleries; perhaps, also, another important triptych with a Descent from the Cross, known to us only from copies. The Vienna Crucifixion is one of his most distinguished works for excellence of composition, delicacy of handling, and refinement of feeling. It is the central panel of a small triptych with the Magdalen and St. Veronica on the wings. Little angels mourning as they flutter in the sky remind us of earlier bird-like spirits of the kind in the margins of such manuscripts as the Hours of Turin, but Roger gave them a new vivacity and a deeper pathos. A wide, decorative landscape forms the background, but it is not comparable to those of Hubert van Eyck. French-speaking artists of this century had no such feeling for and delight in landscape as was common to the Flemings and the Dutch. We must wait for the landscape backgrounds of Bouts to point the way which was to be followed by Massys, Patinir, and the rest, and was to lead on to the great Dutch landscape school of the seventeenth century. This Crucifixion of Roger's was often imitated, notably in three good school-pictures at Dresden, the Prado, and Don Pablo Bosch's Collection (Madrid), each in its turn claimed for an original by the Master.[1] They are, however, all imitations, made up with figures copied from this and the other identifiable original. The portraits of the donor and his wife on the Vienna panel show Roger at his best. She, indeed, has little charm of expression, but his face is illuminated with an ecstatic smile, which draws its origin from the mystics and indicates

[1] Another allied version is a triptych which passed through the hands of Messrs. Agnew, who kindly gave me a photograph of it (Gray, 28501). The principal group agrees with the Vienna original; a kneeling Mary replaces the donors. The Magdalen and St. Veronica appear reversed on the wings with an extra figure beside each. This picture and the National Gallery Christ taking leave of the Virgin (No. 1086), which Winkler attributes to a follower of Campin, may be by the same hand.

the religious medium from which Roger received his inspiration. The lady is well dressed and well posed. The fashion of her costume enables us to fix as approximately contemporary the agreeable half-length likeness of another woman, now in the Museum at Berlin. Two other female portraits, one in the National Gallery[1] and the other at Wörlitz, are of later date.

A lithograph reproduced in the *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* (1906, p. 297) is the only accessible representation of a picture of the Circumcision, which at that time was in private possession in Paris. The scene is laid in the church of Notre Dame at Dijon. From the fashion of the donors' costumes, the picture seems to be of about this date. Apparently it possesses elements which suggest the authorship of Campin or Roger. It is evidently an important picture, but the lithograph suffices only to quicken the desire to behold the original.

An important votive picture by Roger in which the kneeling lady resembled the donoress in the Vienna Crucifixion was sketched in its place in the Convent of Batalha, Portugal, by the painter, D. A. de Sequeira, late in the eighteenth century.[2] It showed the enthroned Virgin between kneeling portraits of Duke Philip the Good, his son Charles, and the Duchess Isabella of Portugal. It must have been painted about 1448–9. Perhaps some day it may reappear. Here, again, the sketch reveals only the composition, not the quality of the work.

Of the three Pietàs, Lord Powis' is the best, but that at Brussels may likewise be by Roger; the Berlin example is probably the work of an assistant. All three have the same central group of Christ and the Virgin, but differ in other figures. In composition the Brussels example is best and unites all the actors by a common emotion, so that doubtless this represents Roger's original composition, the patching-in of donors and saints in the others

[1] This has been attributed to Campin, but the costume is of the same fashion as that worn by Margaret of York, so that the date must be too late for Campin. The Wörlitz lady's fashion is almost the same.

[2] See *Comptes Rendus, Acad. d. Inscrip.* (Paris), 1913, p. 717. A picture dated 1478 at Château de Montmirey-la-Ville (Jura), painted by a Flemish artist, includes a portrait of Philip the Good, after the Madrid original referred to below, and portraits of Isabella of Portugal, the young Charles the Rash, and two deceased children, with saints. See *Bull. Soc. antiq. de France*, 1911, p. 155.

being obviously prescribed. No other painting by our master shows an effect corresponding to that of the arch of yellow sky, flaming through red and deepening into dark blue, which effectively enframes the figures. The Magdalen is tender and loving in her grief, far more attractive than that peculiar figure with the awkwardly, almost impossibly raised and disjointed arms, which appears on the great Madrid Descent, and was so often copied, even the Master himself repeating it. But this Magdalen is graceful, and with all her simplicity far more pathetic than the other. Peter Christus seems to have borrowed a suggestion from her for the Pietà painted in his last years. As for the lost Deposition, we know its composition from a drawing in the Louvre and a late copy at Naples, while Prof. Becker (Leipzig) owns a drawing copied from one of its wings.[1] Was the original necessarily by Roger? Everyone seems to think it was; but I have my doubts. Anyhow, it is lost, and no amount of argument will bring it into existence again. A Descent from the Cross at Munich (104) is thought to be a copy of another lost Roger, known also from other imitations.

In The Hague Gallery is a Mourning over the Dead Christ, somewhat later in date and with more figures than the group just noticed. It was painted for Nicholas le Ruistre. Though often ascribed to a good pupil, Friedländer attributes it to Roger's own hand.[2] Nicodemus, if it be he, with his hand raised to his cap, is a richly dressed courtier, the donor a correspondingly worldly ecclesiastic with a face altogether devoid of emotion, in marked contrast to the sorrowing people he is supposed to be contemplating.

The Seven Sacraments altar-piece at Antwerp, rather earlier in date than The Hague picture, is linked to the preceding group by the Crucifixion in the foreground of the central panel. It may be noted in passing that a woman seated on the ground reading in a book bears strong resemblance to the fine fragment with a similar figure in the National Gallery, one of Roger's earliest works, in which he shows himself closely dependent on Robert Campin. A woman's head on the opposite wing should also

[1] *Burlington Mag.*, January 1914.

[2] See *Rev. Univ. des Arts*, 1885, ii, p. 168, and *Oud Holland*, 1901, p. 141.

be observed as apparently suggested by John van Eyck's portrait of his wife, which Roger must have seen and admired. The arms on this altar-piece are those of the Tournay Chapter and of Bishop John Chavrot (1437–60), for whom it was probably painted about 1446. The Crucifixion is emblematically introduced into the nave of a fine Gothic church,[1] where, at the altar against the choir-screen, a priest is elevating the Host. The symbolism is obvious. The other six sacraments are depicted in the side-chapels of the aisles on the two wings. The authorship of this attractive picture has been unduly questioned. It will be noted that an angel holding a scroll hovers over each side-chapel. These angels are of different colours. The angel of Baptism is white, of Marriage blue, of Ordination purple. The colours were not used at haphazard. They are emblematic. Thus, in the three-panel altar-piece of Granada, dating from this period of Roger's career, we are shown three incidents in the life of the Virgin: her joy over the new-born Babe, her sorrow at the foot of the Cross, her consolation when Christ appears to her after the Resurrection. In the first her robe is white, and the border embroidered with the words "My spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour." In the second her robe is blood-red. In the third it is blue. In the similarly constructed altar-piece of John the Baptist, the robe held by an angel for the newly baptized Christ to wear is purple, the colour of the angel of Ordination.[2]

Such symbolism is a mechanical affair, but it was very popular throughout the Middle Ages, while the use of definite liturgical colours for different times and seasons goes back to a remote antiquity. This kind of forced and artificial symbolism culminated about the twelfth century. A single citation will suffice to show how the mediæval mind confused or delighted itself in such gymnastic. Hugo de St. Victor,[3] writing a chapter on the vestment

[1] M. Lemaire thinks that it is Ste. Gudule's of Brussels as it appeared in mid-fifteenth century.

[2] In a fifteenth century book, entitled *Kintscheyt Ihesu*, the following emblematic colours are prescribed: for Purity, white; for Perseverance, blue; for Fear, grey; for Tribulation, black; for Truth, gold; for Love, red; for Peace, green. Countless such mediæval prescriptions might be cited. Thus, "Virgines siquidem in capite aliquam coronulam albam, Martyres rubeam, et Doctores virides gestabant." Jos. Angles' *Flores Theol.*, p. 398.

[3] *De Officiis Ecclesiasticis*, chap. xlv.

called the Amice, says, "Every detail is symbolical in Christian costume as in the old Law. In the sacred vestments their colour, their material, their position, bear reference to the four elements of the world, the two hemispheres of heaven, the signs of the Zodiac. They signify that all things are subject to Him whose place is taken by the priest within the vestments. The Church received the sacred vestments from the ancient Law. The humeral, which they called the ephod and we name the amice, covers the head, neck, and shoulders, and is attached by two strings to the chest. Thus it signifies the hope of eternity, in respect of which the Apostle tells us: 'Put on the breastplate of righteousness.' We cover with the amice the head, which is the seat of all the senses, that we may serve God by the hope of good everlasting; we surround with it the neck, through which the voice passes, so that we may place a guard upon it by the same hope, and that it may only resound to God's praise. We cover with it the shoulders, which bear burdens in order to learn to bear patiently the Saviour's yoke. We confine our bosom with the cords of the amice in order to repress unjust and futile thoughts." That kind of writing is a mere convention, which, once acquired, could be indefinitely applied. Anything could be made emblematic of any idea whatsoever. Monkish readers of the Middle Age seem not to have been bored by whole treatises composed on these lines. For us Roger's pictures are neither better nor worse for embodying the last relics of this sort of symbolism, but in their day they may have been assisted to popularity by it.

It has been claimed that our artist also supplied designs of the Seven Sacraments to the embroiderers of the splendid set of Burgundian vestments which the Swiss captured from Charles the Rash, and are now preserved in the Berne Museum.[1] Some drawings in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford[2] and in the E. de Rothschild Collection in Paris are obviously connected with these same embroideries. They may be sketches for the designs or made by some pupil from them. In any case, they are interesting examples of work done in Roger's studio, though hardly by the master himself.

[1] See complete set of reproductions in J. Stammler, *Der Paramentenschatz . . . zu Bern*, 1895.

[2] Published by the Vasari Soc., viii, 15–18; and *Burlington Mag.*, Jan. 1914.

Returning to the three-panel altar-pieces of Granada and Berlin, it should be observed that one panel of the former, long ago stolen out of the Chapel Royal there, passed through the Ossuna Collection and the hands of Messrs. Duveen into private possession. There is a well-known ancient copy or studio-replica of the whole at Berlin, which came out of the Convent of Miraflores ; of the Berlin John the Baptist triptych a similarly good repetition on a smaller scale is at Frankfurt. It is possible that the Granada original was first at Miraflores, and that when it was taken away and given to the Chapel Royal the copy was substituted at the Abbey. At all events, we have record of the gift to Miraflores in 1445, but the work must have been done before 1438. The tradition that the original picture was presented by Pope Martin V to King John II can scarcely be true, because the Pope died in 1431, and Roger did not leave Campin till the following year. It must be admitted that the influence of Campin is strong in this picture, as Winkler points out, but the identity of Christ's right hand in the third panel with that of John the Baptist in Campin's Werl wing of 1438 is not due to imitation of Campin by Roger, but of Roger by Campin. Calling the two pictures, for brevity's sake, the Mary and John altar-pieces, it will be observed that the arrangement of both is similar, with a sculptured portal as a frame to each panel ; but there are noteworthy differences. Thus, there is an emblematically coloured angel with a scroll above each subject in the Mary altar, none in that of John. In the former the arches are round, in the latter pointed. The architectural features of the background in the Mary altar are like those in Campin's pictures, not so in the John altar. As time went on, then, Roger freed himself from the Romanesque traditions which Hubert had introduced, perhaps under Rhenish influence, and gravitated away toward the forms of French Gothic. The introduction of many subsidiary incidents as commentary on the principal subjects is also a Gothic invention, which we saw in full use in the portals at Chartres. A beginner in mediæval studies will find profit in identifying each group of sculpture in the voussures of the portals. Those above the Nativity, for instance, represent incidents connected with the birth and infancy of Christ, those above the apparition of Christ to His mother with

post-Resurrection legends, the Resurrection itself occurring in the background. The subjects sculptured in the capitals must also be observed and the legends on the scrolls. All have been carefully planned. The decorative effect of the whole is what appeals to the modern eye, but the meaning had much to do with the pleasure of the spectator for whom Roger painted.

All these pictures are marked by a notable quality of refinement. Roger's art is essentially refined. It thus contrasts with the art of the Van Eycks and of Campin. This is a bold statement, but it can be justified. There is refinement in Hubert's work, but it is a personal quality. Robert's is the refinement of a school. It is an inherited tradition. It is French; not personal, but national. It is the same quality that we discover in the Parement de Narbonne or in the miniatures of Jacquemart. It is, in a sense, decadent; that is to say, it is the outcome of a long-practised stereotyped style. The massive Gothic forms of the twelfth century gave place to a restrained monumental type in the thirteenth, and that, in the fourteenth, gradually exchanged strength for delicacy and force for grace. By the end of the fourteenth century, we may call the Gothic style decadent if we please, but it was obviously refined, and this refinement was carried to the highest level in the schools of Paris. It is this refinement that Roger inherited, and he was the first to combine it with important qualities that belonged to the new school. Bandol, Sluter and the sculptors, Campin, the Van Eycks—these were the men in whom the new tendencies were vigorous, but refinement was not their forte. In fact, the movement they fashioned was a reaction against the decadent refinement of the late Gothic style. Their work is forceful, massive, veracious—aggressively veracious at times. Roger combined as much of that veracity and force as he could assimilate with a large element of the old refinement, and thus fashioned a style exactly suited to the general taste of the people who counted in his day—the people who had or controlled the expenditure of such money as was available to pay for works of art. For creative ability, massive intelligence, deep human insight, Roger is not comparable to the Van Eycks. He was narrow beside them, but he was lucid, comprehensible, pleasing, and refined; thus he attained a reputation

and an influence much wider than that directly commanded by his greater contemporary.

Roger's reputation spread far. Soon after leaving Campin he had settled at Brussels, had become town-painter, and had begun to lay the foundation of a local school. There was no important school of painting then at Bruges. It was at Brussels that the manufacture of popular pictures began under Roger's impulse. But before that school had attained importance, an event occurred in Roger's life to which we must now refer. It was his visit to Italy. When he left home and when he returned we do not exactly know, but Facius records that he was in Rome for the Jubilee of 1450. He also reports Roger to have said that what he most admired there was Gentile da Fabriano's work in the Lateran basilica. A well-known little Madonna with four saints at Frankfurt is a monument of this journey, and was probably painted at Florence. On a shield at the foot of it is a charming fleur-de-lys, obviously Florentine, perhaps suggested by that most beautiful of all such formal flowers which is sculptured and inlaid into the famous Campanile. Cosmas and Damian are two of the attendant saints ; the others are Peter and John the Baptist—patrons respectively of Cosimo de' Medici and his sons Piero and Giovanni. Obviously, the picture must have been painted for some member of the House of Medici. It is difficult to discover in it any trace of Italian influence, except in the composition of the figures. The Virgin stands in the midst under a canopy, in form like that of a shower-bath, just such a canopy as is used in the late picture by Campin known to us from the Louvre drawing, but Roger uses two little angels to hold up the curtains, as angels are often employed by Italian artists. Otherwise, the picture is wholly Netherlandish. An imitation of it by some unidentified follower is in the Cook Collection at Richmond, the background and saints being different and an angel holding the crown over the Virgin's head. An unusual Holy Family, which was in the Crespi Collection at Milan (phot. Anderson), may have been painted by the same pupil. In it the Virgin is seated in the open air before a hilly and rather Italian landscape. The Child, lying on her lap, leans forward and embraces a full-sized cross maintained in an upright position by a flying angel.

A donor, presented by St. Paul, kneels before her. Both these works are school-pictures of good quality.

An Entombment in the Uffizi, by Roger himself, may have been painted in Italy or immediately after his return home. In composition it differs from the type current in the Netherlands, the figure of Christ being seen from in front instead of sideways. Was there, perchance, any connexion between the Entombment in the National Gallery, by some attributed to Michelangelo, and this, either direct or through some earlier example influencing both? The head of Nicodemus (the central figure) seems to be a portrait of Roger himself; at all events, it is very like the Arras drawing thus inscribed. Crowe and Cavalcaselle thought that this picture might be identical with the central panel of a triptych which Cyriacus of Ancona saw in 1449 at Lionello d'Este's at Ferrara, and they were probably right. If not painted at Ferrara, it must have been done after a visit of Roger to that court, because there was a portrait of Lionello on one of the wings.[1] By great good luck another portrait of that prince by Roger has come down to us, fully authenticated, with arms and motto on the back. It is a strange example of the direct impression of a peculiar and most individual personality expressed in latest Gothic terms. The spirit of flamboyant tracery is in his fingers and his nose! Every long line that his appearance can yield is selected, and yet the man himself is there—not subtly studied as by John van Eyck, but tastefully seen and refinedly portrayed in a manner as different as possible from that of contemporary Florentine painters. This cannot have been the wing of the picture recorded by Cyriacus. Otherwise the triptych would have been of the same form as that once buried in the almost inaccessible collection of Lady Theodora Guest, but now visible to all the world in the Louvre. That was probably a memorial painting set up soon after the death in 1452 of Jehan Bracque of Tournay. His daughter

[1] From Lionello's accounts, we learn that arrangements were made on December 31, 1450, for Roger to be paid for it at Bruges. So he was probably at home again by that date. The kneeling Magdalen in the foreground was copied into a picture now in Brussels Gallery which was in the Church of Notre Dame at Bruges. It was the altar-piece of the Guild of the Drie Sanctinnen and was painted before 1489 by the Bruges artist nicknamed "the Master of the St. Lucia Legend." This rather militates against the idea that Roger's original was painted in Italy.

(ob. 1499) bequeathed it to her grandson, and there are later mentions of it.[1] The figures depicted are all half-lengths : Christ between the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist in the centre, SS. John Baptist and Magdalen on the wings, a wide sweep of landscape uniting them all. The most delightful part of this composition is the wing-panel with the Magdalen. She is charming. If England has had the bad luck to lose her, we may congratulate ourselves on still possessing, in the Print Room of the British Museum, Roger's own original silver-point study for her—a work of finest quality. Such original drawings are excessively rare. Only one is known by John van Eyck, the silver-point life sketch of Albergati. By Roger we have this and one or two more—for example, the delicately outlined and modelled head of a Virgin in the Louvre, which Winkler identified. It is fortunate that the British Museum likewise possesses, from the Salting Collection, another fine drawing of this same Magdalen. Anyone might have been forgiven had he mistaken it for an original ; but when the two drawings are placed side by side, the one drawn by the master for the picture, the other copied by a first-rate follower from it, the difference is obvious. A copy by the same hand of another Virgin and a third in the Bonnat Collection at Bayonne may be mentioned. All are of fine quality, but not on a level with Roger's own work.

Roger's Italian experiences and observations made little direct impression on his art, but he seems to have left a good reputation behind him. This is proved by two interesting letters, which have been published by Malaguzzi Valeri.[2] The first, dated December 26, 1460, is from the Duke of Milan to the Duke of Burgundy, recommending his painter Zanetto Bugatto, who was going to the Duke of Burgundy's dominions to study under a certain great painter, named, perhaps by accidental error, William. The second, dated May 7, 1463, is from the Duchess of Milan to Roger, thanking him for the liberality with which he has revealed to her painter the secrets of his art ; that is to say, of the Flemish method of applying colours. When this correspondence was published, critics not unnaturally remembered a certain troublesomely problematic triptych in the Brussels Gallery, painted in the style of Roger

[1] See *Gaz. d. Beaux-Arts*, Oct. 1913.

[2] In *Pittori Lombardi del Quattrocento*, Milan, 1902.

and containing in the foreground, below the Crucifixion, the portraits of Francesco Maria Sforza, his wife Bianca Visconti, and their son Galeazzo Maria Sforza.[1] Their ages indicate about 1460–2 as the date of the painting. The work, not wholly, at any rate, by Roger himself, might well have been painted in his studio; why not, then, by Bugatto? A fatal objection appears to be the utter absence of any Italian element in it whatever. It is hard to believe that a formed Italian artist could thus rapidly have abandoned all his home traditions and taken on the style of Roger, unless, indeed, we are to postulate that every detail was drawn on the panel by the Brussels master and the painting done by Bugatto with colours mixed for him. Even thus, we should expect some Lombard element to peep through. The wings are by another hand and will be referred to hereafter. Bugatto died in 1476. He is often mentioned as official portraitist or painter in the Milanese account books. It is difficult to believe that the existence of this triptych was in no way connected with Bugatto's visit to Roger, even though he had no hand in the work.[2]

Princely patrons were not the only Italians to remember Roger with respect. Facius and Cyriacus both mention him honourably. Antonio Filarete praises him. Giovanni Santi celebrated him in verse. He was remembered by Guicciardini. When he was at home again and the last and most influential period of his career began, he was the recognized head of the Netherlands schools; his works were known in Spain and Italy by the best connoisseurs; his studio was sought by students from the Rhine and other parts of Germany; and it is evident that the best painters of France looked up to him and probably regarded him as the head of their school. The Master E.S. and after him Martin Schongauer, the two most popular engravers in the Rhine schools, fell under his influence and spread it abroad. His compositions were copied or imitated by painters all over Germany, and it was to him more than to any other single artist that the widespread reputation

[1] J. Mesnil in *Onze Kunst*, 1908 and 1909, suggests that the triptych may have been painted for Alessandro Sforza, Francesco's brother.

[2] On the type of pictures with which the name of Zanetto Bugatto may most naturally be associated compare Malaguzzi Valeri, in *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1911, pp. 193 sqq., and 1912, p. 48.

of " the great artists of the Netherlands " in the last half of the fifteenth century was due.

When Chancellor Rolin wanted a great altar-piece for the Hospital he founded in 1442–3 at Beaune, Roger was obviously the man to supply it. There are reasons for thinking that it must have been finished before the Italian journey, though I have seen it asserted that the order was not given until 1451.[1] The style of Roger is visible through all its many panels, but not everywhere his hand. The main subject, stretching across from panel to panel when the doors are open, is the Last Judgment. It is not dramatically impressive. The finest figure is that of white-robed St. Michael standing in the midst, weighing souls, with trumpeting angels fluttering about—a vision that withdraws the eye from the unimpressive Christ above. The Virgin is likewise a beautiful figure, but the subject was not suited to Roger's genius and the parts are better than the whole. The fussy and meaningless gesticulation of so many hands gets on one's nerves.[2]

Treasurer Bladelin, founder of Middelburg, followed the example of the Chancellor, and ordered from Roger a triptych for the altar of his own new church. He had the luck to obtain the painter's masterpiece in this kind. Here are no sculptured arches, no multiplicity of commenting details, but, for the central panel, a simple, dignified, spacious, and delightful representation of the Nativity, with a very beautiful Virgin, some charming angels, and the best that could be done with the kneeling donor, whose head makes amends for his legs. Netherlandish and many German painters were content to repeat this type for the treatment

[1] Pope Eugenius gave authority for the dedication of the Hospital to St. Anthony. Pope Nicholas (1447–55) permitted the dedication to be changed to St. John Baptist. It is Anthony who appears on the outside of the wings, which would scarcely have been painted till the important parts of the picture were finished. The Pope alongside of the Duke within is generally called Eugenius—I know not on what authority. It would seem, therefore, that the picture was at least far advanced, if not finished, by 1447. Winkler is wrong in stating that both saints appear on the outsides of the wings. They do not.

[2] Two other great altar-pieces in France were likewise in their turns attributed to Roger: the retable of Ambierle Abbey (Loire), dated 1466 (i.e. two years after Roger's death), and the Crucifixion retable of the Parlement of Paris, of about 1475, now in the Louvre. Both show the continuing influence of our artist upon the best painters of France.

of the Nativity which Roger thus fixed, but it was a pity that he did not choose a more attractive model for the Babe. The altar-piece for St. Columba's at Cologne must have been painted about the same time (say, *c.* 1455–9). A similar street-view is in the background of both. The subjects selected were the Adoration of the Magi with the Annunciation and Presentation for the wings. Numerous imitations show how well their treatment pleased the taste of the day. The magnificently clothed and proudly upstanding figure of the Moorish King (who used to be miscalled a portrait of Charles the Rash [1]), the hooded Virgin, and the turbaned girl behind her with the basket of doves—these are the figures upon which a modern eye will rest with pleasure. The forms of religious art are preserved and even popularized, but all inspiration is gone; yet as a decorative background to an altar these panels must have been effective.

A mere mention of the retable painted for John Robert, Abbot of Cambrai, will suffice. It is now in the Prado. It was ordered in 1455 and finished within four years, but the work was mainly, if not wholly, done by assistants, and the design harks back to the old-fashioned type of the John and Mary triptychs.

Whether Roger was stimulated to greater activity in portrait-painting by his visit to Italy, or whether a growing reputation led to his being more frequently employed by sitters, certain it is that the bulk, if not all, of his existing men's portraits, except Lionello's, date from the years following his return from the South. The Berlin likeness of Charles the Rash, as Count of Charolais, approximates most closely in treatment to that of Lionello. Unfortunately, the face does not illuminate his character as history reveals it. One would call him lethargic, sensual, and stupid, evidently the son of his father, but lacking his father's brains. The Philip de Croy (Antwerp) and the Knight of the Golden Fleece (Brussels), holding an arrow as prize-winner in some archery contest, are of maturer quality, both distinguished works. If they lack the close impartial analysis of John van Eyck, they replace

[1] The tradition that portraits of Philip the Good and his son appeared on this picture may have arisen from a confusion with another picture on which they, as well as Isabella of Portugal, were portrayed in adoration before the Virgin and Child. It was dated 1449 and was last heard of in Spain (*Rev. Archéol.*, 1914, p. 101). See above, p. 136.

it by a perception of refinement which was foreign to the sympathies of the greater artist. Philip de Croy's panel must have belonged to a diptych or triptych, and the same is true of the Lusent Froimont at Venice (recently returned to Belgium) and the much damaged Jean de Gros, which was in the Kann Collection.

A man's portrait of finest quality which turned up in the far west of the Dominion of Canada and was for sale in London in 1916 (about 8 in. by 6 in.) depicts a middle-aged courtier of very refined expression, with hair cut low above the eyebrows, and hands joined in attitude of prayer; it also was probably the half of a small diptych. The face is in three-quarters to the left, the expression attentive and alert. This is the type of portrait in which Memling most approximates to Roger. It was probably painted about the time when he was working in Roger's studio.[1] Equally fine in their way are the Duke Philip at Madrid and the head in the Kaufmann Collection.

As for Philip—Philip the (anything but) Good—in the Madrid portrait, he stands revealed for all time, the crafty sensualist with the faun ears. Able and selfish he looks, and I suppose he was, but likewise a gentleman who had learned and could practise an art of living and appearing. This portrait exists in numerous copies, but less in number than those of another type, in which he wears a black turban-shaped hat—a *chapperon bourellée*, of a form fashionable in his day.[2] The original of this type is not known. Winkler attributes it to Roger. It has also been ascribed to John van Eyck, but none of the copies suggest the intervention

[1] The picture is in all material parts excellently preserved. There is a small flaw under the jaw and the background has been repainted. The remainder is untouched. It is now (1921), I believe, in the collection of Mr. Dreicer, of New York.

[2] This Burgundian fashion of head-covering was adopted in Italy, where the parts of it were named as follows:—There was first a ring-shaped frame of wire or other light material. It was called a *mazzocchio*, and Paolo Uccello played with it as a complicated figure to draw in perspective. The *mazzocchio* was covered with a piece of stuff, the broad end of which stuck out and was called a *foggia*. At the opposite side of the head a long piece of stuff was attached. It could be used as a scarf and could be taken off and left at home in fine weather. This piece was called a *becchelto*. The whole was in Italian a *capuccio*, in German a *Sendelmütze*. The *mazzocchio* was popular for men. Women wore another sort of turban-frame called in Italy a *balzo*; there is an example of it on the head of Ilaria del Caretto. See *Jahrb. Pr. Kss.* 1915, p. 13.

of his matchless insight, though that may be the fault of the copyists. The version now in Bruges Gallery had for pendant a portrait of Michelle de France, the wife he married in 1409, but she died in 1422, and Philip's portrait must be later. Those who attribute the original to Peter Christus have most chances on their side. It should, however, be remembered that portraits of the Duke by other artists are recorded : one done in 1436 by Michel Estelin, of Cambrai, another of about the same date by Hue de Boulogne and Jean de Maisoncelle ; as neither painters nor pictures are known it behoves us to be careful in attributing portraits of doubtful style to other artists. The maturest and most searching of all Roger's portraits was in the Kaufmann Collection ; it is of a good man, much chastened by life, who has attained experience and wisdom by suffering. He will endure unto the end in what he judges right. A valuable counsellor he might be, trustworthy and not deceitful. The suggestion that he may have been the Treasurer Bladelin of the Middelburg altar-piece is not accepted.

At Antwerp is a fine portrait of a Man with a Dart, which has often been attributed to Roger or called a copy of a lost original by him. It seems to be the work of some Tournay painter or a Frenchman, but may here find brief mention. It needed a good artist to endow this person with so obvious a dignity. A grim man, if ever there was one, a forceful fighter, hard, domineering, unsympathetic, meaning to be master of his fate. The painter did well to show him to the waist. The broad treatment of the costume and the set of the figure are in keeping with the pose of the head and expression of the face.

To sum up, Roger, as a portrait-painter, was the leading artist of his generation. If he lacked the massive intelligence and penetrating insight of John van Eyck, he possessed the power of endowing his subjects with distinction. Everyone knows how Van Dyck learned in Genoa and taught in England how well-bred people should look. Roger, to a less degree, performed a similar function for Knights of the Golden Fleece. Civilization was a young plant in the Netherlands in the days of Duke Philip. The big men were still, like Elizabethan statesmen, little more than well-clad and well-fed artisans, sometimes of genius. They

knew how to dress and how to build. Roger showed some of them how they ought to look. He gave them distinction.

We have noted in the case of three of Roger's portraits that they appear to have formed part of diptychs. The other half of each would probably have been a half-length Virgin and Child. Where are these pictures? and did he not paint others? The type of full-length standing Madonna was employed by Campin, as in the Flémalle wing, and Roger used it in his Florentine picture. It is probable that he made other full-lengths that have been lost to us. One such seems to have been imitated about 1511 by Goswin van der Weyden, the Antwerp painter of the memorial of the Donation of Calmpthout, now at Berlin. We may possess a fragment of a full-length seated Madonna, like the Virgin with St. Luke, in the admirable picture, now in the Huntingdon Collection, New York, which I so well remember when it belonged to my late worthy friend Mr. Henry Willett, one of the most skilful and fortunate collectors of his time.

Critics find much entertainment in the reconstruction of lost originals, for which the repeated copyings and imitations that went forward in Netherlands studios provide plentiful material. It has been suggested that Roger, when in Italy, noted the growing popularity of the sculptured half-length Madonna bas-reliefs, then so commonly made by the best artists of Florence, and that on his return home he set the fashion of similar paintings, which had a rapid success and were so eagerly called for that his followers were soon busily employed in turning them out. Two such half-length Virgins claim to be originals: one is in the Berlin Museum, the other was in the Matthys Collection (Brussels), both of about 1460. They are reversed repetitions of one another with some variations, and the type was frequently imitated. Both are themselves variations of the upper part of the Virgin with St. Luke. So frequent is the repetition of this type, especially in the Bruges studios about the year 1500, as to lead to the assumption that an important original may have existed in some church at Bruges. I feel far from certain that the guess is correct. Pattern cartoons or drawings of great finish—such as those above described—seem to have been common studio properties in those days, and they could supply material for repetition as efficiently



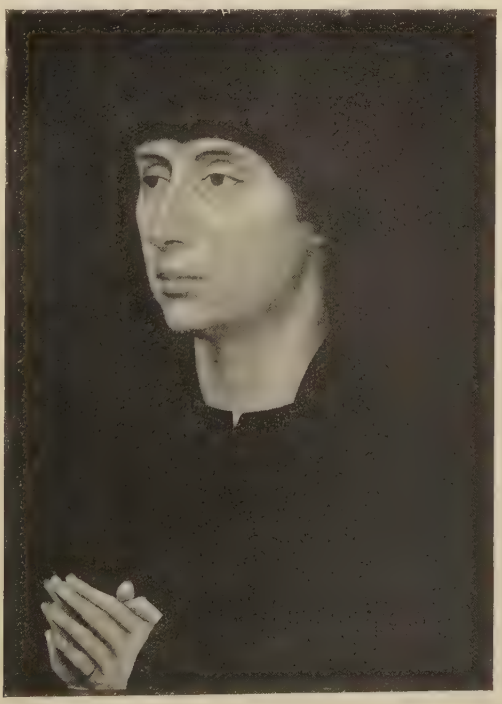
1. J. DARET. PANEL OF ARRAS ALTAR (1434). p. 124.



2. P. CHRISTUS. ST. ELOY (1449). COLL. LEHMANN.—p. 109.



3. ROGER VAN DER WEYDEN. COLL. HUNTINGDON.—p. 150.



4. ROGER VAN DER WEYDEN. COLL. DREICER.—p. 148.

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as the originals themselves. Campin's original of the Virgin with the music-making angels probably went to Spain. His Marriage of the Virgin almost certainly went there. Yet both were repeated in the Netherlands again and again in whole or in detail. Moreover, we know that something in the nature of annual art-congresses of painters recurred in the Netherlands toward the end of the fifteenth century, at which much may have been done in the way of exchange of designs. Whatever the means, the fact is that, henceforward for several decades and with increasing frequency, the designs, first of Roger and presently of some of his followers and their contemporaries, began to be used as patterns to be repeated either exactly or with more or less freedom by painters of the school, engravers and miniaturists following suit. It is hard to accept the hypothesis that a famous original of each of Roger's Madonna types existed in a prominent position in some Bruges or Brussels church where other painters could copy or imitate it, and that every one of these pictures should chance to have been destroyed while so many other pictures by him have survived. Is it not more likely that these repetitions of types are an example of the way the guild system and the taste of patrons operated upon the artists of that district and day? When a patron ordered a Madonna may he not have chosen the type from patterns in the artist's possession? Patterns do not necessarily imply an original picture, but only an original design. I remember Mr. Weale telling me that he had read contracts in which a painter was thus tied down. From the time when the making of pictures became a common industry in the Netherlands and painters were rapidly increasing in numbers, the practice of copying and imitating flourished. Originality was not asked for by patrons nor stimulated by the guild system and its educational organization. When a pupil had worked, like Daret, for a dozen years under a single master, always living in his house, it required an unusually strong nature to emerge with much originality left. What the guild system successfully produced was sound and workmanlike execution of typical designs. No one wanted originality. There were no crowded annual exhibitions!

The Virgin of St. Luke, as already stated, became common in the half-length form, the best existing example being in the

Fogg Museum at Cambridge, Mass. Another type of Virgin and Child which was even more frequently repeated far down into the sixteenth century shows the Child standing on His Mother's knee and reaching up to kiss her. Winkler would attribute the original to Roger, and gives a long list of copies.[1] Reinach suggests that the composition may go back to Van Eyck. Early examples are the Hornes memorial picture at Berlin (590A), a picture that was in the Cernuschi sale (Paris, 1900, No. 144), another in the Carvalho Collection (Paris, phot. Giraudon, 1008), and a drawing at Dresden. Other often repeated Madonna-types thought to have been fixed by Roger are the Virgin with a Flower and Winkler's Virgin holding the Child with both hands ;[2] and they are not all.

I am tempted to add to these recreations of Winkler another lost Roger Madonna—the Madonna with the Sleeping Child. There must have existed a particularly venerated picture of this type. It is represented by two existing paintings on silk or lawn of about the year 1500. One from the Mercier Collection at Niort was shown in the French Primitives' Exhibition of 1904 (No. 357) ; the other appeared in the Warren sale at New York (1903). The background was old rose-colour diapered with crimson, the Child's robe of gold shaded with red, the Virgin's blue with red sleeves and a blue cloak edged with gold. These pictures do not make us think of Roger. They represent an earlier type which he, in turn, imitated. All the existing versions date from the beginning of the sixteenth century. There are several from the workshop of the Brussels Master of the Magdalen Legend, others by Joos van Cleve and his assistants, and by the Parrot Master. The best of these is an excellent version by Joos van Cleve, which was in the Odiot sale (No. 6, Paris, 1889). It is scarcely possible to deny that he painted it with a version by Roger before him. The Virgin's head is an obvious copy after a Roger original and is almost identical (in reverse) with the head of the beautiful Louvre drawing (Giraudon, 418). In another version, likewise by Joos van Cleve, the Virgin's

[1] An example was in the Grimaldi sale (1899, No. 279), and I have had for upwards of thirty years a photograph of another which was imported into Long Island, U.S.A., early in the nineteenth century and is, doubtless, still in a private collection in New York.

[2] Examples of this type are in the Winthrop Collection (New York) by the Ursula Master, others at Brussels and Amsterdam, and in the M. van Gelder Collection (Uccle), also a miniature in a MS. (No. 1857) in the Vienna Library. See Winkler's *Flémalle*, p. 71.

head has been entirely altered, and she has been made to smile or, rather, to grin. This picture is in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. Another version of the same school was in the Pablo Bosch Collection, but the head is again changed. A small half-length Madonna, of which a photograph was kindly given to me by Messrs. Dowdeswell, who owned the early sixteenth-century original, also shows an evident dependence upon Roger, but in this the Child has opened His eyes. The Roger tradition is less obvious in the Magdalen Master's examples, but discoverable in that in The Hague Collection. It is significant that the type should have been popular in Brussels. The Parrot Master's version is directly dependent upon Joos van Cleve's type.

Roger happened to come at the moment when circumstances and the taste and growing wealth of a considerable number of individuals involved and imposed the development of a certain kind of painting. The day that called for it provided also the guild system and determined the character and quality of its output. It was the chance of the time of his coming that raised Roger to so high a position. He could not have broken the way into a new world of art as the Van Eycks did. His was not a creative or exploratory mind. But he could do excellent work along a made route, improving, co-operating, continuing. He was an admirable craftsman with a true sense of style, well suited to be master at the head of a growing school, solidly founded on tradition, and conservatively maintained. It was the goodness of the work of the Netherlanders, its uniform high quality, its sound methods, its careful finish, its religious docility, that made its products so highly valued even in Italy. Roger fitted exactly into that frame. When he died on June 16, 1464, he left behind him plenty of well-trained followers to hand on to the next generation the efficient instrument of art-production which he had helped to fashion. The Municipal Council gave a pension to his widow, but they appointed no painter in his place, having many years before decided that he should have no successor. One wonders why.

A very good pupil and follower of Roger was the painter of a well-known and delightful picture in the National Gallery (No. 783), which is certainly one of the most entertaining works of the Netherlands schools : I refer to the Exhumation of St. Hubert,

the eighth century Bishop of Liège. For thirty years or more I have had among my photographs an etched copy of a drawing of this same composition which was in the Weigel Collection. I am told that it has lately been published as the design for our painting. It is, however, only a sixteenth century copy of it by a skilful sketcher who noted down in French the principal colours. The picture shows us the episcopally robed body of the Saint, raised from his grave in front of the high altar of an unidentified church, amid a crowded group of onlookers, many of them evidently portrayed from the life. There is a *châsse* upon the altar intended, no doubt, to receive the relics of the Saint, which it is far too small to hold, if the body had been as complete as the painter makes it. It was the proper thing to relate that a Saint's body was found intact and fresh, and so the painter had thus to depict it. The *châsse* depicted is a well-designed fifteenth century example and probably actually existed.[1] The retable seems of earlier date. Over the altar is the statue of St. Peter, to whom the church may have been dedicated. Among the onlookers is an emperor in a robe embroidered with the lilies of France. He is bald-headed. Can he be intended to represent Charles the Bald? We are reminded of the well-known and approximately contemporary painting of the Mass of St. Giles by a different artist. Like this, it shows a legendary event taking place in fifteenth century surroundings in the choir of a church, which we are fortunately able to identify as that of the Abbey of St. Denis. There, as here, the neighbourhood of the altar can be enclosed by curtains running on rods carried by four metal columns surmounted by figures of angels. Such columns are the last surviving trace of the great stone ciboria by which in earlier days altars were wont to be covered, as we may see at St. Ambrose's Church in Milan and elsewhere. At the head and foot of St. Hubert's grave is a mitred ecclesiastic. The one at the foot, swinging a censer, has been thought to resemble the art-loving William Fillastre, Abbot of St. Bertin's at St. Omer (1450–73) and Bishop of Toul, whose likeness is known to us from pictures

[1] A *châsse* made for the Chapel of St. Sebastian at Nuremberg and still to be seen in that city comes nearest in type to the *châsse* in the picture, but is of rather later date. See Becker and von Hefner-Alteneck, ii, pl. xliv.



1. ROGER VAN DER WEYDEN. ESCORIAL.



2. SCHOOL OF ROGER. THE SFORZA TRIPTYCH (1459–62). BRUSSELS.—p. 145.



3. SCHOOL OF ROGER. A SAINT AND DONOR. (1451).—p. 155.



4. SCHOOL OF ROGER. THE EXHUMATION OF ST. HUBERT. NATIONAL GALLERY.—p. 153.

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and manuscripts attributed to Simon Marmion. I am afraid the similarity is only superficial. Curiously enough, the picture must have been seen and remembered by Albert Ouwater, who borrowed ideas from it away off at Haarlem. Whoever the painter may have been he was an admirable draughtsman and comes in several respects very close to Roger. The finely clad youth on the right would not have thus appeared had not Roger previously painted that splendid upstanding Moorish king in the Cologne Magi. We can still trace the Campin tradition in the grouping of the onlookers and the way the faces peep in between one another. There is a delightful variety of character and expression. Altogether, one can stand before the picture long and often with entertainment and pleasure such as more pretentious and famous works fail to provide.

The same artist painted a Marriage of the Virgin (in Antwerp Cathedral) which possesses many of the merits of the St. Hubert, though in a less degree. Reminiscences of Campin are there also discoverable. Winkler has acceptably attributed to him an important drawing, in the British Museum, of a religious procession bearing the Viaticum. Churchmen in front are carrying banners and singing. They have just emerged from the gate of a town, through which their lay followers are still coming. A portion of the drawing has, unfortunately, been cut out. It is claimed that the copy of Roger's Descent from the Cross, which was in the Edelheer Chapel of the recently burned church of St. Peter at Louvain, was also made by this artist. That picture is dated 1443. The ascription to him of a female portrait of fine quality in the Heseltine Collection is less confidently asserted. It certainly bears considerable resemblance to two heads in the company present at the Exhumation. Let us hope that this painter's name may yet be discovered. He was an artist of no little merit.

A pair of wings of fine quality and bearing the date 1451 were for sale at the Spanish Gallery in London about 1908. On the outsides was an Annunciation painted against a red background sewn with stars. The insides showed the donor and his wife with their patron-saints, but instead of the saints presenting their protégés, some chief event in the saint's legend is depicted on

each. Thus, behind the donor, is the Crucifixion of St. Peter, with an elaborate landscape background. In that, and in the landscape on the other wing, jutting rocks are introduced which seem prophetic of the forms later delighted in by artists of the Patinir School. The group of onlookers about the Emperor includes models and employs poses that bear more than a slight resemblance to those presently characteristic of the Dutch School, but the donor's portrait is in the style formulated by Roger, and the painter was evidently one of his pupils. The same observation applies to the portrait of the lady, who recalls no one so much as the donoress on the Vienna Crucifixion. An angel in the background is more like Bouts than Roger. The name of the lady's saint remains a mystery, though several incidents in his career are depicted. Thus, far away in the background, he is seen beside the bed of a man with an angel kneeling on the floor. Then he is just outside the building with two camels which men are loading. Next he is talking to another religious within the doorway of a church, and perhaps the lonely individual deep in thought leaning against a rock is he also. Finally, he is kneeling in the foreground while the angel holds his two camels a little way behind. Somebody may be able to fill in the gaps of the story, but it will make no difference to our appreciation of a very charming picture, which does not depend for its beauty upon any "meaning." A curious coat-of-arms bearing only a large sword and a key was not interpreted by Mr. Weale, who called attention to the picture.[1] It may be provisionally ascribed to some unidentified Dutch pupil of Roger, an artist of singular promise, perhaps known to us by later work in a more independent style.

In conclusion, we may briefly mention a pair of panels, called the diptych of Philip Hinckaert, castellan of Tervueren, who died in 1460. The pictures, or one of them, may have been set up as his memorial. Both, at any rate, are by a single painter.[2] The Crucifixion is a rude and painful work introducing figures

[1] *Rev. de l'Art chrét.*, 1905, p. 361. Sword and key are the emblems of St. Paul and St. Peter, or of the civil and ecclesiastical powers. They can hardly be the bearings of a layman's shield. A rather similar coat-of-arms is sculptured in the Lady Chapel at Winchester Cathedral. It bears a sword crossed with a pair of keys.

[2] Now in the Crews Collection. Bruges Exhibition (1902), No. 31.

taken directly from Roger, but the landscape behind them contains some delightful passages and shows that the painter was modern enough to find more delight in depicting nature than in repeating traditional designs. The other panel with its interesting portrait of the knight and its uninteresting Virgin and Saint confirms this judgment, but the embroidered tabard and the flourishes and generally decorative treatment of the coats-of-arms and other devices prove the painter to have retained a good deal of mediæval love for Gothic decoration, though he patches it about in a casual way, and has lost understanding of the structural unity by which such decoration needed to be held together.

Note to p. 143.—Evidence against the identification of the Uffizi Entombment with part of the triptych seen by Cyriacus has been adduced by Dr. Warburg, who thinks that he has found mention of the former in the inventory of the Villa Careggi in 1492. The existing portrait of Lionello, which belonged to Sir Edgar Speyer, is now at New York in the collection of Mr. M. Friedsam.

CHAPTER XII

DIRK BOUTS

At some date before 1440, Roger was ordered to paint that three-panel Mary altar-piece discussed in the previous chapter. The order was probably given on behalf of John II, King of Castile (1406–54), for whom also the similar John altar-piece may likewise have been painted. Not much later two other altar-pieces were ordered with which we must now deal. One is the large triptych with life-size figures in the Chapel Royal at Granada, the Descent from the Cross being the middle subject, the Crucifixion and Resurrection on the wings; the other, in the Prado, is a well-known little triptych with the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, and Epiphany in separate compartments, which was for a long time wrongly ascribed to Peter Christus. It is the earliest example of the four-panel type of triptych—the usual large central panel being divided into two equal in size to one another and to the wing panels—which is common in the Brabantine, especially in the Brussels School down to the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century.[1] In all the above four pictures the subjects are framed within arches like portals, with carefully designed sculptured groups in the voussures. All were probably painted for export to Spain, while of three there exist contemporary copies or studio replicas. Two of these four pictures are by Roger, the other two by someone else. The similarities of design common to them were, no doubt, due to the commands of the patron who himself, or by some ecclesiastic in whom he had confidence, prescribed the details.

The Granada triptych has not been photographed as a whole, but there exists an excellent contemporary copy or, perhaps,

[1] The detached group of six little panels at Strasbourg attributed to Memling likewise formed a small four-panel triptych, the remaining pair belonging to the outsides of the wings.

replica of it on a smaller scale, which is kept in the house of the Rector of the Collegio del Patriarca at Valencia, and this has been well reproduced.[1] The originals of both the Mary three-panel altar-piece and the Descent triptych reached the Chapel Royal, Granada, from the same donor, and came from the inheritance of the daughter of King John II. A direct connexion in design between these two pictures is rendered obvious by a moment's inspection. The three arches of the one and the central arch of the other are round, and their sculptures are similarly arranged. The spandrels have triangular decorations. There can be no doubt of the relation, nor that the Mary altar-piece set the type. That, as we know, was painted by Roger van der Weyden. Who was the painter of the other and of the four-panel triptych? The reply can scarcely be longer doubtful: he was Dirk Bouts. Let us pause a moment to define the limits of our considerable ignorance concerning this man.

That he was born at Haarlem is certain, and the date of his birth was probably the year 1400. Molanus, indeed, says that he died on the 6th of May, 1400, aged 75, but the 1400 is an obvious misprint or miswriting for 1475, the year in which we know him to have died. The truth of this statement about his age is confirmed by the portrait of himself which he introduced into the background of the Last Supper, painted between 1464 and 1468. That is the likeness of a man nearer 70 than 60 years of age. His parents must have been decent people, because they owned a silver goblet which he inherited from them; and they lived in a good house where Dirk was born. Van Mander, nearly two hundred years later, could point to it as still standing. It had an old-fashioned gable-end decorated with medallions in relief. Did Bouts think of them when he painted the circular medallions in the spandrels of the wings of the Granada triptych?

In 1447 he married at Louvain Catherine van der Brugghen of that city, member of a family nicknamed Mettengelde (as who should say "the golden"); thirteen years later, when her parents were dead, she inherited a big house in Louvain and other property, so that Bouts married well. They had two sons, Dirk and Albert, and two daughters, who were nuns. Both sons were painters.

[1] *Gaz. d. Beaux-Arts.*, Oct. 1908.

Dirk died young, but Albert has left us a number of second-rate pictures at which we may glance later on. In 1473, two years before his death, Bouts married a second wife, who likewise was well-to-do. He left her the bulk of his property, but asked to be buried beside his first wife, from which we may conclude what we please.

The question naturally arises, where did Bouts learn his art? He came to Louvain probably about 1440, when he was already middle-aged. His pictures contain a strong element which is peculiar to them and to the pictures of his followers, but is not Flemish or Brabantine. That he gained much from contact with Roger is obvious, but he did not derive the stem of his art from him. The Roger element was a graft. We can find analogies between the style of Bouts and that of Ouwater, Geertgen, and other Dutch painters, but what they possess in common was not derived from Roger. The great Dutch originator was Bouts. It is true that John van Eyck was employed by John of Bavaria, Count of Holland, to decorate his palace at The Hague, and that he worked there for about two years from October, 1422; thus it is tempting to think that Bouts may have worked there under him, or that Van Eyck may have laid the foundations of a Dutch school of painting in which Bouts grew up, but we have no evidence that such was the case. Dr. Vogelsang[1] has brought together examples of miniature paintings made in Holland at this period, but none of them show the least influence of the Van Eyck school nor any likeness to the personal style of Bouts. The vaulted roof of the Church of St. Walburga at Zutphen is adorned with a painted decoration dating from the first half of the fifteenth century.[2] These are not the earliest paintings in the church, for some on the walls must be of the fourteenth century, and a Virgin and Child with a mounted knight tilting below her, may even be of late thirteenth century date, good and spirited work. The vault paintings are the best preserved. They consist of a

[1] *Hollandische Miniaturen*, Strassburg, 1899.

[2] Reproductions in G. van Kalcken, *Peintures Ecclésiastiques du moyen-âge, Église Ste. Walburge de Zutphen*, Haarlem, 1914. The later group of fifteenth century vault paintings are reproduced on plates 9–12 and 41–6. Plates 25, 26, 29,30, 36–9 may depict works mainly of the fourteenth century, but the pictures are so badly damaged that little can be gathered from the reproductions.

decorative enrichment of the groining, with fanciful and elaborate flourishes about the intersections, and vignettes in the spandrels. The latter are either half-lengths of the Virgin, Sibyls, pagan Prophets, and Evangelists, or incidents in the Christian legend. The half-lengths emerge from formal clouds or flowers, and are delightfully and variously invented. The costumes are fantastical, yet indicate plainly enough a date in the first half of the century. The treatment is like that of an enlarged miniature. In order that the pictures might be effective at a distance, as they are, the figures were strongly and carefully outlined and comparatively lightly shaded. The painter of the Sibyls of Zutphen must be reckoned a praiseworthy artist, but it is hard to discover in his work the marks of a definite local style. Not from him nor from any other artist did Bouts derive the elements of his style. That seems to have been his own creation. He, therefore, and no other is to be regarded as the founder of the Dutch School, for which so brilliant a future was in store.

An ambitious young Dutch painter, feeling his way at any time between the years 1420 and 1440, would naturally be drawn toward the provinces of the South Netherlands. After 1432 the active and prosperous studio of Roger van der Weyden at Brussels would be the attractive centre. Thither, apparently, Dirk Bouts went, not as an apprentice, but as an "improver." He and Roger were about of an age, but Roger had had more advantages. The simplest hypothesis to explain all the known circumstances assumes that Bouts became Roger's assistant not many years after Roger had left Campin, that he remained with him for a while, and that he then set up as an independent painter at Brussels for a longer or shorter period before moving on to settle at Louvain.

The elements of the style which Bouts brought with him from Haarlem can be most clearly distinguished in what is, perhaps, his earliest extant painting—the four-panel triptych at Madrid. Friedländer has now definitely ascribed it to Bouts, and I am glad to have his confirmation of an opinion I had already formed. Various details connect it with the Granada Descent, the most obvious being the treatment of the voussure-sculptures and the roundels in the spandrels. Compare those above the Madrid

Annunciation with those above the Granada Descent. There is no corresponding relation to Roger's sculptured groups in the Mary and John three-panel altar-pieces. A similar relation holds between the carved canopies and the Prophets in both. The most striking divergence is in the melon-shaped heads of the women, an awkwardness of type Bouts had shaken off when he came to paint the second picture. It is evident that both were painted in the immediate entourage of Roger, for the Madrid Visitation is identical in design with that which we have seen Roger twice and Daret once employing, having themselves probably inherited it from Campin. The building and the garden in the Lützschena example recur textually in the background at Madrid.

That Bouts continued to learn much from Roger is proved by the Granada triptych. The Virgin fainting at the foot of the Cross on the Crucifixion wing, the other Virgin and St. John by the Descent, the Magdalen wringing her hands, the flying angels, all come from Roger. The whole composition of the Resurrection wing is borrowed from a group in the background of one of the panels of his Mary altar-piece. The Descent is related both to Campin and to Roger, but to Campin probably through Roger. On the other hand, nothing could be more emphatically Dutch than some of the figures and types ; for instance, the man in profile standing at the foot of the Crucifixion. The landscape also is pure Bouts. He was far superior as a landscape painter to Roger and all other of his contemporaries and predecessors, except Hubert van Eyck. The four-panel triptych shows his landscape style already developed. He must have brought that with him from Haarlem.

With this picture we cannot but group the well-known and very puzzling Entombment, painted in tempera on linen, which is in the National Gallery. It has been attributed to Roger, to Bouts, and finally to some other nameless master. A glance shows that one of the weeping Maries, who is wiping her eye with part of her white headdress, appears both in the Entombment and on the Crucifixion wing, though with a change of gesture. Here the landscape is again pure Bouts, and a very beautiful landscape it is. On the other hand, Bouts at no period of his career could have designed such a group as this. He was always

a poor designer of groups of figures. He merely patches them together within the area of his picture with a childish simplicity that makes one smile. Even by the last years of his life he had attained little skill in this direction. But the Entombment is one of the best composed pictures in the whole range of fifteenth century Netherlands paintings. The designer must have been Roger if the painter was Bouts. Roger's, too, are several of the types of head ; those, for instance, of the two laymen and that of the Virgin. Bouts' Christ-type also differed from this. Paintings in tempera on linen appear to have been made in considerable numbers in the Netherlands. Tournay was a centre of their manufacture, but had no monopoly. Hugo van der Goes painted many such. They were largely exported to Italy. They served as a cheaper substitute for tapestry, and rooms were hung with them. In the nature of things few have survived. The National Gallery example is one of the best existing. If the small, jewel-like panel pictures of the school preserve a certain sense of spaciousness and are seldom finical, it may be because painters were practised in working on a bolder scale in the other technique.

These three pictures, then, I attribute to the beginning of Bouts' career in Brabant, and guess them to have been painted in Roger's workshop in the late thirties or perhaps the early forties. With them I would group the Annunciation at Petrograd and the Pietà in the Louvre, of which latter there is a copy at Frankfurt. The Magdalen wears one of those white headdresses which are characteristic of the painter's early period. The composition, though not exactly borrowed from Roger, was at least suggested by the same Mary altar-piece to which Bouts was already so deeply indebted.

A Crucifixion in the K. F. Museum (Berlin) belongs to this early period of Bouts' career. It is important because all along the horizon of it there rise the towers and gates of Brussels, making it probable that the picture was painted there. We can identify the tower of the Hôtel de Ville, the belfry of the Church of St. Nicholas, and the great Porte de Hal.

Two or three portraits may be placed in this early group. We may name the bust of a well-to-do citizen which is in the Warneck

Collection,[1] and another which, from the Oppenheim Collection, has passed into the New York Museum. The latter is half of a diptych, the man portrayed being about 45 years of age, approximately Bouts' contemporary. It has been called a self-portrait, but doubtfully. A pair of portraits on one panel, for sale in London in 1908, were attributed to our artist by a writer in the *Monatshefte*. If they were by him they must have been painted early in his career.

By 1447, whatever direct relation there may have been between Bouts and Roger had ceased, and Bouts was well and independently started at Louvain, where the building of the beautiful town-hall was just beginning. Roger did a good deal of work for, and even at, Louvain, of which city he had the freedom, but Brussels must always have been his headquarters. The canny Bouts (for he evidently was canny—look at his two well-to-do wives)—the canny Bouts, I say, was obviously wise to settle down away from the very centre of his contemporary's activity. Artists are not given to over-valuing one another's merits. It is probable that Bouts thought himself—he certainly was, in some important respects—the artistic superior of Roger. Roger could design better compositions, but Bouts could beat him at painting. There is a solid excellence about Bouts' work, a rich brilliancy of effect, a naïve, informal charm, owing nothing to guilds and schools and borrowings, which Roger could not rival. These merits may not have impressed the people of that day as they impress us. Clearly, Roger was the popular artist—the man to whom rich patrons would go first. Bouts had nothing of the courtly about his art, nor, to judge by the face of him, about his person. He looks of the burghers burgherish—middle-class double-distilled. So he left Brussels, if that was where he first went, and settled at Louvain, and thereout, in process of time, "sucked he no small advantage." That he prospered is as evident as his nose on his face. Of course, he made money and, equally of course, he saved it. Perhaps he had "the fault of the Dutch"—an admirable person none the less.

Paul Heiland, earnestly striving in the year 1902 to obtain his doctor's degree, constructed a useful thesis on Bouts. In it

[1] Golden Fleece Exhibition, Bruges (1907), p. 80 in the memorial illustrated volume.

he tried to recreate the design of a great lost polyptych by our artist, which should have been in some Cologne church, where numerous German artists cribbed from it. Two of its inner wing panels were the Munich Betrayal and the Nuremberg Resurrection. The hypothesis did not "catch on," and most people are content to accept those two as the whole of the interior faces of the wings of a lost Crucifixion, the outside faces being the *grisaille* St. Johns at Munich and Wörlitz. Whether the picture was at Cologne or elsewhere, certain it is that these two panels find many an echo in German art. After Roger, Bouts was the Netherlands painter whose influence is most evident in Germany, and especially in the Cologne School of those days. If we were writing the history of German art this matter would here demand an attention which, as it is, we are not called to render.

We may suppose ourselves now to have accompanied Bouts past the year 1450; we are approaching the days of his artistic maturity. Of the two panels under consideration, the Nuremberg Resurrection repeats the composition used on the Granada triptych with necessary changes involved by the different shape of the panel. The Munich Betrayal is more original and has positive merits of importance. The throng of folk is, of course, poorly composed, with too little room for the bodies under the heads, but the variety of facial types and expressions is remarkable, and so is the rendering of moonlight in the background and of torchlight on the distant group before the door of Annas. This appreciation of light links Bouts with the Van Eycks, especially with John, and is the germ of that later development out of which Rembrandt was to arise. It is all very rudimentary here, but Bouts knew quite well what he was aiming at. He had posed the problem which his Dutch followers, Geertgen and Gerard David, were to tackle in their turn and successive generations after them.

The *grisaille* saints, once framed as the backs of these panels, were obviously turned over to an assistant, who must have been trained under Campin. The careful Heiland points out that the shadows cast by these stone-coloured figures have a distinctly outlined penumbra, though his optical explanation of it is incorrect, but then he was not asking for a degree in mathematics! Having

noted this fact, he proceeded penumbra-hunting through all the pictures of the school, and lo! only with Campin did he find penumbras of this kind. All other painters shade off the edges of their shadows or leave them sharp. It is a neat observation, but leads to no very useful conclusion. If Bouts had used penumbras himself we must have concluded that Campin had taught him too, but these *grisailles* are not by the hand of Bouts.

When our artist painted Lord Penrhyn's picture of St. Luke drawing the Virgin's portrait, he must have been at least 50 years of age, if, as seems almost certain, St. Luke is the painter's own portrait. This picture is not a repetition of Roger's composition, though it is obviously a reminiscence of it. Here, also, St. Luke makes his drawing in silver-point. His easel and painting things are away off in his studio, as we can see through the open door. The Virgin is far from beautiful and the Child decidedly bandy-legged and awkward of gesture, but the picture is admirably painted, and the landscape framed in the round-arched arcading is a real joy. A half-length Madonna in the Antwerp Gallery (No. 28) has the same bandy-legged baby on the lap of a more attractive mother, but here again it is the clothes and the trees and the colour of the whole that we admire, by no means the figures.

The following half-length Virgins are also attributed to Bouts by Friedländer :—

National Gallery (Salting Collection), No. 2575.
Berlin K.F.M., No. 727.
A picture in the Davis Collection, Newport, R.I.
A replica in the Carrand Collection, Bargello, Florence.
Frankfurt, Städelinst., No. 108A (Pourtalès Sale, 1865).
A picture belonging to Count F. Pourtalès, reproduced on p. 9 of the illustrated volume on the Berlin Loan Exhibition of 1898.

The last of these pictures is similar to the Antwerp example in style and obviously by the same painter. The Berlin and Salting Madonnas are likewise generally accepted as by Bouts ; the former is obviously suggested by Roger's Virgin with St. Luke, but is a less close imitation than the general run of school repetitions

of that type. Bouts was never a slavish follower of a master. The Davis Madonna is superior to the copy at Florence, which cannot be an original. It has been attributed to Hugo van der Goes or to an unknown artist, but though it presents some disquieting features it comes nearer to Bouts than to any other named painter. The Child puts up His face to kiss His Mother and passes His arm round her neck. The gesture is borrowed from that type of Virgin and Child which Winkler refers back to a lost original by Roger. A beautiful half-length in the J. G. Johnson Collection (No. 341) by a follower of Roger almost repeats the same composition, though there the Virgin does the kissing. So does a picture attributed to Memling in the Wernher Collection (London), while in a Gerard David belonging to M. Martin le Roy (Paris) the Davis type is almost repeated as far as the heads are concerned. Two drawings in the Boymans Museum at Rotterdam show female heads with the same peculiar form of nose which characterizes the Davis Virgin. As for the Madonna at Frankfurt, it is hard to think that Bouts had anything to do with it. The full and suave forms of her features, the character of the drapery—everything points to a pupil of Roger in very close sympathy with that master. The picture has also been attributed to Memling, but it is no nearer to him than to Bouts. It is a work of the school of Roger and may have been painted in his studio. But for the Child no one would have thought of Bouts in connexion with it.

The National Gallery likewise possesses a full-length Virgin enthroned between St. Peter and St. Paul. The Saints rest their hands on the arms of the throne, Peter holding a book for the Virgin to read from, Paul offering a flower to the Child. An enthroned Virgin with angels standing thus beside the throne is an ancient Byzantine subject, revived in Italy by Duccio and Cimabue. It is evident that the type was known and imitated in the Netherlands in the days of Bouts. He himself must have painted such a picture, for in the Von Lanna Collection at Prague was a drawing of two angels copied from it. They are in the positions assumed by Peter and Paul. Clearly the type with angels was the original and this with the two saints a later variation of it. In the Castellaci Collection at Ragusa is a Madonna, wrongly attributed to Memling, which repeats Bouts' type with

the angels, and there is another by a Bouts' follower, slightly more divergent, in the Chapel Royal at Granada.[1] Here, then, at last, we have a successful design by Bouts—one that his contemporaries and followers were glad to repeat. He did not often attain that kind of popular success.

Moses and the Burning Bush, brilliantly painted on a picture-wing, which I well remember in the possession of the late Henry Willett, found a worthy home in the collection of my late friend Mr. J. G. Johnson, of Philadelphia. The missing pendant must have shown Gideon and his fleece, for Albert Bouts imitated the pair at a later date. The picture does not owe its charm to the drawing of the figures, which are mercifully hidden from view within their ample draperies. Yet there is something delightful about them, too—Moses painted twice over, once quite literally pulling off his boots and seated on the ground to accomplish that unromantic operation in the most matter-of-fact fashion. The bush flames unconvincingly. Never was a painter more literal than Bouts. There is the bush, and there are the flames. What more can you want? But the delicately drawn flowers, the details of rock and sheep and distant slopes, the placing of them, and the true sense of beauty with which they are handled, delight the eye, by a witchery all the painter's own.

A pair of panels of equal dimensions, one in the Louvre, the other at Lille, seem to belong together, as wings of a lost centre-piece. One wing depicts Paradise, the other Hell; obviously a Last Judgment must have been between them. It is tempting to identify the altar-piece with a Last Judgment which Bouts was ordered to paint by the municipal authorities of Louvain for the Salle des Échevins in the town-hall. The order was given on May 12, 1468, and the picture delivered in 1472. Unfortunately, we know that the height of that panel was six feet, whereas these wings are only 115 cm. high, or less than four feet. Moreover, though we might readily enough assign the Hell wing to as late a date as 1470, it is difficult to carry the Heaven so far down. Indeed, this problem still remains: the two panels do not appear to be contemporaneous. In the Hell the nudes are admirably drawn and the faces more passionately expressive than in any

[1] Reinach, *Repertoire*, i, 182, gives the outline of a repetition of this.

other work by Bouts, but in the Heaven the drawing of the lightly clad figures is poor, and four out of the five faces in the foreground are depicted in profile for no better reason than to save the trouble of foreshortenings. We might escape the difficulty by ascribing this wing to some assistant, were it not for the beauty of the landscape and the gorgeous splendour of the brocade, jewels, and wings of the angel who obligingly turns his back on us that we may the better marvel at his attire. They say at Lille that this wing came from the Abbey of Tongerloo, near Louvain, another reason for not identifying the altar-piece with that made for the Town Hall. It may be claimed that resemblances exist between the Hell and Roger's Beaune altar-piece, a figure at the extreme right of the latter, for instance, being paralleled by one in the former; but the temper of the two works is different. It is hard to believe that the artist, who so stolidly depicted the martyrdom of St. Erasmus, a picture which Bouts supplied before 1464 to the Church of St. Peter at Louvain, can have thus dramatically conceived the tortures of the damned. Only the fine drawing of the nudes is common to the two works, yet the quality of surface is not the same; the bodies in hell possess a lithe grace which seems inconsistent with Bouts' stolid ideal. Can it be that our artist was here helped by some very brilliant assistant whose identity has yet to be discovered ?

Whoever painted this wonderful Hell was likewise responsible for the Martyrdom of St. Hippolytus in St. Saviour's at Bruges, in which the figure of the martyr might have been taken straight out of the Louvre Hell. Several critics have attempted to strike this painting out of the list of the works of Bouts, but they have failed to convince those authorities who are best worth convincing. Here, again, we have a larger proportion of profile faces than chance would have provided among eight people. The models, too, are of Bouts' well-recognised types. Hippolyte de Berthoz and Elizabeth de Keverswych his wife, the kneeling donors on the left wing, have obviously been painted in by another artist, and very beautifully painted too. He has had to change the colour of part of the pre-existing landscape to make it harmonize with the violet in the costume of the donors. This new painter was none other than Hugo van der Goes, whose strongly personal style

is easy to recognize. We may account for his intervention in two ways: either the picture was left unfinished when Bouts died, or the donors living at Bruges could not conveniently sit to our artist at Louvain. The latter is the more probable hypothesis, as the landscape was finished before the introduction of the portraits.

The Munich Magi triptych, painted for members of the Snoij family of Malines, is best grouped with the two preceding pictures. Doubts have been cast in its case also on the authorship of Bouts, and it must stand or fall with the others. It is either Bouts at his best or by a nameless painter who had learnt from him and in some respects surpassed him. Whatever may be said of the middle panel, I find it difficult not to recognize the hand and still more the mind of Bouts in these two wings. Here the figures, for all their large dimensions, are subordinate to the wonderful landscapes. That behind St. Christopher, with the rippled water, the back-stretching river, the red orb of the setting sun, the atmospheric perspective, and the brilliantly dyed and illuminated heavens, marks a stage in the development of landscape painting. A generation later landscape and figure painters occasionally combined their efforts to produce a single picture. I have sometimes wondered whether Bouts may not have introduced the custom. He was remembered as a landscape painter, the first man to be so designated. May he not, in his late years, have become so enamoured of landscape painting as to have devoted his chief efforts to that branch of art, and retained the services of an able assistant, trained by himself, to paint in the figures which he had designed?

From March, 1464, to February, 1468, Bouts was entirely occupied with his masterpiece, the Last Supper, ordered by the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament established in St. Peter's Church at Louvain. As long as that picture was on hand he bound himself to paint nothing else, so that all other pictures painted by him must have been done before or after those dates. As he died in 1475, there were only seven years left to him after the Last Supper was delivered. In those seven years he painted the two large panels for the Town Hall, as well as the lost Last Judgment; we cannot, therefore, attribute to this latest period the whole of the preceding group. Yet, if, with Hulin, we put the St. Hippolytus

to the very end of the master's career, the Hell and the Snoij triptych must go with that. Bouts could not have done so much work in the time. Either, therefore, these pictures are largely the work of an assistant, or they belong to the period before 1464. The former hypothesis seems to me the more probable. But who can the assistant have been, and what happened to him when Bouts died? To these questions I can suggest no answer.

The probable date of the Erasmus triptych is 1458. A modern inscription on the frame is probably some workman's blundered copy of an older one. He has painted the year thus: MCCCC4XVIII. If we like to read that 1468 we may do so, but the divergence in style between this picture and the Hippolytus makes it impossible to group them in the same period of one artist's activity. To 1462 belongs the best of Bouts' portraits, a half-length in the National Gallery, which bears a superficial resemblance to the painter himself, but certainly is not of him. It is an amiable likeness of an honest, middle-class individual, painted with no little skill, and specially admirable in the handling of light. It illuminates not only the face but the character. Marcantonio Michiel seems to have seen this picture in a house at Venice and mistaken it for the work of Roger, or perhaps it is the learned commentators on Michiel who are mistaken.

There is much to be seen in, but little that we need stop to say about, the Last Supper altar-piece. Its wings were divided between Munich and Berlin, and only the central panel remained in the church to be rescued the other day from the flames of war. All five panels are now reunited in Belgium. Each individually has merit, but they were not designed with any relation (save of subject) to one another. There is no balance or rhythm uniting the compositions, and each gains by separation from the rest. The great central panel is pre-eminent. The figures are arranged with almost the formality of a drill-sergeant about a square table. Bouts himself, as the butler, stands beside the *credence*. Another portrait—perhaps of the learned man who prescribed the subjects—stands behind Christ, while two youths, who may be the artist's sons or assistants, are seen through the kitchen hatch. The room is airy, well-lit, spacious, and charmingly furnished, drawn in excellent perspective (the tiled floor and beam ceiling helping)—

a most delectable late Gothic chamber. As we examine the panel we receive a better sense of looking into an enclosed space of a certain depth than many early Northern pictures afford. There is little enough of sentiment expressed. The figures are of Bouts' well-known types, stolid, and, for all the gesturing of their hands, emotionless. Yet it is a delightful picture to look at—so brightly coloured, so solidly painted, such careful work, visibly intended to endure, wrought to the edges with the same finish as in the middle: about as honest a piece of workmanship as the world holds. The strength and the limitations of the master are plainly apparent.

With this picture we may leave the good man. What he afterwards painted was of less moment and tells us nothing fresh. There are the two panels at Brussels of the Justice, or rather Injustice, of Otto III, in which the same limitations are observable, and more evident because the figures are on a larger scale, but if the faces are lacking in expression they attain a higher level in the solid rendering of character than in any other of his works. There were to have been two more pictures of the series, but Bouts died before he could take them in hand, and Hugo van der Goes was called in to value his unfinished work. Friedländer points out that only the second picture was entirely finished; considerable parts of the foreground figures of the other had to be completed by a less skilful hand after Bouts' death. One picture added in 1909 to the Berlin Gallery must have been among those Bouts left incomplete or that were on hand in his workshop. The landscape and the figure of Christ walking by the Jordan were alone finished. Not Hugo himself but some follower of his painted in the closely packed group of John the Baptist pointing out the Redeemer to his followers. It is not a great work. Indeed, if Bouts' handiwork in any part of it be admitted it may be held to show that he had already accomplished the best that he was capable of. His day was done, and there were others, several of them trained by himself, ready to take his place and carry on the traditions he had done much to strengthen and develop.

CHAPTER XIII

HUGO VAN DER GOES

A MORE emphatic contrast than that between the temperaments of Dirk Bouts and Hugo van der Goes could not easily be cited. The one canny, narrow, painstaking, industrious, slow, definite in aim and aiming only at what he could surely hit; the other bold, fiery, uncertain, passionate, aiming at large, striving for more than he could accomplish, prolific, immensely able, and by nature an artist to the finger-tips. The work of Bouts has endured in wonderful condition; that of Hugo has, for the most part, vanished. The lesser man still stands before us complete; the greater is but a torso.

The origin of Hugo and his shaping are unrecorded. From his name it has been guessed that his family, himself perhaps, may have come from Ter Goes in Zeeland; but there is no occasion to go so far afield. We know of him as a man of Ghent only, and the name in his day was not uncommon in Flanders. As an artist he was Flemish. As for the genesis of his art we can only surmise. He is reputed to have been a pupil of John van Eyck, but as his birth-year can scarcely be carried back as far as 1430, that is practically out of the question. Such resemblances to and reminiscences of the Van Eycks as we find in his work are accounted for by the recorded fact that he was a great admirer of the Ghent altar-piece, which he had the opportunity of studying as often as he pleased. Was he, perhaps, a pupil of Roger? The influence of that master upon him can be traced, but if Hugo had been his apprentice we should expect it to be more prominent. We can also observe in his pictures factors that remind us of Robert Campin. The National Gallery (658) contains an admirable little Death of the Virgin, which appears to stand about half-way between Campin and Hugo. There is a view out of a window into

a town-square, such as Campin loved to introduce into his backgrounds, and there are many other Campinesque features, but the rugged, peasant-like Apostles, their cramped attitudes, their expressions, the heavenly apparition over the Virgin's head—these elements and many more suggest a close relation with the picture of the same subject painted by Hugo in his middle period. No question can arise as to the relative date of the two. The National Gallery version is the earlier by more than a decade. It was an admired picture, for two other versions of it have survived (Berlin K.F.M., 528B, and Prague, No. 501). I imagine the London example to be or to represent an early work by our artist.

Hugo's style also occasionally manifests the influence of Bouts, but not strongly nor more than such knowledge of his work as we know him to have possessed would account for. The simplest hypothesis seems to be that he was born, brought up, and educated in Ghent, as, in fact, a contemporary entry in the Louvain archives expressly states ;[1] yet there are difficulties in the way of that solution. It is clear that he and Justus of Ghent came out of the same school, and Justus became a master in the Antwerp Guild in 1460. Guicciardini, a respectable authority, affiliates Hugo also to that city. Justus moved over to Ghent in 1464 and purchased the freedom of the guild there. Hugo did the same in 1467, and Justus was one of his sureties ; this does not confirm, though it does not necessarily refute, the hypothesis that Hugo was a Ghent man. Though he became a master in the Ghent guild in 1467, he was already living and working there in 1465, perhaps in the studio of Justus. Not being free of the local guild, he could not have been in business on his own account. It is all very confusing, and we can only look to the future to extricate us from this maze of uncertainties. They would not disturb us in the case of a lesser man, but Hugo van der Goes was a very great artist who ranks with the Van Eycks, Quentin Massys, and Peter Bruegel among the giants of the early Netherlands school. It is therefore important to understand the origins of his art.

The prolific and independent period of Hugo's career lies between 1467 and the time when he went mad in 1481. The output of those fourteen years was large. He not only painted

[1] See Crowe & Cavalcaselle, chap. vi.

the works which have come down to us, several of them on an unusually big scale for Netherlands pictures, but he made wall-paintings and decorative pictures in tempera on linen whereof the barest remnants survive. He was the only Flemish artist whose imagination demanded that he should paint on a large scale. He would not have needed to split up the Ghent altar-piece into a dozen panels and eight several compositions ; he would have enjoyed covering the whole surface with a single subject. Could he have spread himself over the walls of Italy, his powers would have attained a fuller development. Under his circumstances of place and day, even the large panels he was ultimately enabled to employ were at first denied to him, and he had to begin, like his fellows, painting little pictures.

The reader must bear in mind that no two critics agree in arranging this artist's extant work in the same chronological order.[1] Even the three great pictures are transposed anew by almost every writer, and the Berlin critics who have two of them always under their eyes cannot agree which to place before the other. Moreover, the most trustworthy and experienced of them change their minds on the chronological question. Thus Dr. Friedländer, whose competence everyone admits and whose conclusions are accepted in nine cases out of ten, counted the Liechtenstein Magi among the works of Hugo's early period in 1903, grouping it with the Vienna diptych, but in 1916 he emphatically states that he does not consider it early, and that it is separated from the Vienna diptych by a wide divergence of style.

Everyone admits the immaturity of a small half-length Madonna at Frankfurt (No. 111), in a carved heraldic frame with wings added by an inferior painter.[2] The hatched gold background was a Brabantine feature. The little work is full of promise and an unusual vigour, expressed in the detailed observation of the Virgin's hands and the activity and intelligence of the Child, but the group seems hemmed in rather than decorated by the frame. The Vienna diptych (283) with the Fall on one wing, the Deposition on the other, and St. Geneviève outside, shows

[1] See H. Sander in *Repertorium*, 1912, Heft vi.

[2] The portraits on them are of William van Overbeke and his wife, who were married in 1478.

a rapid advance. Our ugly first parents with their underbred figures and awkward extremities are easily forgiven for the sake of the rest. Goes troubled little about formal beauty at this time, preferring details on which his incisive touch could fasten and outlines that were emphatic. The temptress, a kind of brilliant lizard with a woman's head, is the most attractive of the group, for all her devilry. An ensnarer of like type appears in a fifteenth century French manuscript in the British Museum (Add. 15248). Where did Hugo find an original for the elaborately drawn orange-tree in front? It is not copied from the Adoration of the Lamb, but may have been suggested by it. The flowers in the foreground were studied from nature. In the Deposition he has allowed himself some dependence on Roger for types, but designed the whole freely and freshly. A common emotion links the figures together and dictates forms, gestures, and expressions, but they had to be very carefully wrought out; he was not yet able to fling his passionate figures forth from the white heat of his creative imagination, but the promise of that exuberance is here apparent.

To the same early period I would ascribe two pictures marked by a symmetry of design which does not recur later on. The first is Lord Pembroke's Nativity, where the Child lies in such a square stone manger as is common in Dutch pictures of the subject. The two peasants whose heads are prominent on the left are far from presenting that strong and sympathetic characterization with which Hugo was to endow their fellows in later works. A painful care in composition is here also evident and less prominently marks the Adoration of the Magi, known to us by copies at Bath and in the collection of Señor de Osma at Madrid (sold in 1919). All the foregoing are immature works. We can trace the artist's endeavours to find his way into a new world of art not opened by his predecessors. Till this stage was passed he had not reached his own country, but was working toward it. I imagine that all these pictures may be assigned to a date before 1467. In that year he not only became a master-painter at Ghent, but was employed as director of the decorations there for the accession-fête of Charles the Rash—surely a position of unusual importance to be held by a newly graduated master unless he had reached maturity elsewhere. Possibly he took out his master-

ship in the local guild in order that he might fulfil this function. He was similarly employed at Bruges, though as subordinate to Daniel de Rycke, to paint street decorations for the fêtes of the marriage of the Duke to Margaret of York in 1468. Indeed, it was as a painter of decorative linen sheets that he seems to have come to the front and, perhaps, attained his first repute in Bruges. We have already referred to works of this character. Their large scale, the opportunity for bold design they would afford, the speed with which they must necessarily have been painted if they were to be cheap, these and the like conditions would have rendered the making of them a pleasant task for Hugo. In work of this kind and possibly in designs for tapestries [1] and glass windows the large style of his mature period took its origin.

One picture exists done by him in tempera on linen. It belongs to a rather later period of his career, and so, perhaps, does a fragment at Christ Church, Oxford, bearing the heads of the Virgin and St. John, all maybe that remains of a famous Descent from the Cross, the design of which is generally attributed to him. The whole composition is preserved in a drawing and several painted copies, two in Bruges, two in Ghent, and others scattered over Europe as far away as Naples and Lisbon. Van Mander highly praises a window in St. James's Church, Ghent, containing the same subject from a design by Hugo.

A large drawing at Christ Church, Oxford, is either a design for or a copy of a decorative painted linen by him. It relates an incident in the story of Jacob and Rachel. The somewhat stiff and formal lines of the composition would not be unsuitable either for a large wall-painting or for the decoration of a linen sheet. To a similar class belonged the overmantel painting which decorated a room in the house of James Weytens. Lucas de Heere wrote a sonnet in its honour, and Van Mander described it as existing in his day. That, however, was painted in oils. The original has disappeared, but copies exist, the best being in the Museum

[1] Tapestries of the Annunciation and the Magi in the Gobelins Museum at Paris are claimed as Brussels weavings from designs by Hugo, and with them Destrée associates the Magi Antependium in the Cathedral Treasury at Sens, presented by Cardinal Charles de Bourbon. All three seem to me to have been designed by artists of the school of Roger, influenced to some degree by Goes. See J. Destrée, *Exposition d'Art ancien Bruxellois* in the *Jubilé national de* 1905.

of Decorative Art at Brussels. The subject is the meeting of David and Abigail. It is recorded that one of the ladies in the picture was the daughter of the house to whom the painter was at that time paying his court. The background groups remind us of others in the Adoration of the Lamb, but the picture lacks the fairyland atmosphere of that work. It introduces us to a world of actuality and fine women splendidly attired.

The precious little triptych in the Liechtenstein Collection which depicts the Adoration of the Magi composes the figures according to a new and obviously artificial formula. Everyone notices the pyramidal structure of the central group, but no one has yet discovered whence Hugo borrowed the scheme which was more commonly employed thus formally in Italy than in the North. Some influence from Bouts appears in the figure of the second king on the left, which might almost have been drawn by him. The peasants looking in through a window link themselves to those in Lord Pembroke's picture rather than to the notable originals that everyone remembers who has once beheld the Portinari altar-piece at Florence. We are, fortunately, able to indicate the date of this little triptych by the evident approximate contemporaneity of the portrait on its right wing and that of the donor on one of the wings at Holyrood. The latter is probably rather the later of the two, but only by a little. Its date can be fixed with reasonable security. The Holyrood wings were the shutters of the altar-piece of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity at Edinburgh, and must have been painted no later than the year 1472. Sir Edward Boncle, Provost of Trinity College, dedicated the altar-piece and doubtless ordered it when on a visit to his brother Alexander, who was one of the leading Scottish merchants settled in Bruges. Hugo was thus able to paint his portrait from life. He is kneeling in front of an organ which two angels are playing. This may represent the organ toward the cost of which King James III in 1466 had contributed £10. Provost Boncle is in the very same position and costume as the donor upon the wing of the Liechtenstein triptych, but the Scotsman's drapery is a little better and more freely handled. On the insides of the wings are royal portraits—James III protected by St. Andrew, the same model as St. Thomas in the Portinari picture, and a head



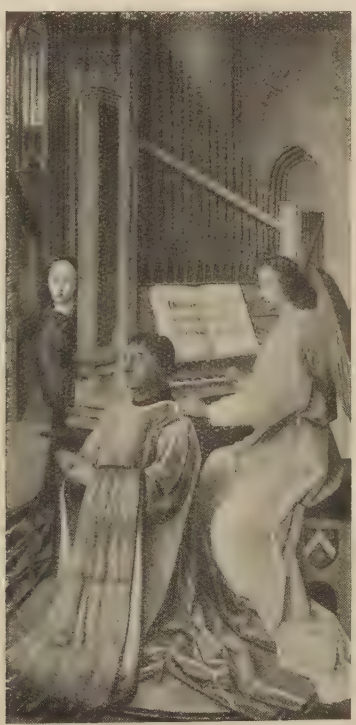
1. DIRK BOUTS. CHAPEL ROYAL, GRANADA. p. 159.



2. D. BOUTS. HELL. THE LOUVRE. p. 168.



3. HUGO VAN DER GOES. NATIVITY. WILTON HOUSE.—p. 176.



4. HUGO VAN DER GOES. SIR ED. BONCLE. HOLYROOD.—p. 178.

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on the left of the Berlin Nativity; behind him his brother Alexander, the heir apparent; on the opposite wing Queen Margaret, daughter of Christian I of Denmark, protected by St. Canute. The saints and backgrounds were the work of Hugo, but the royal portraits of some less skilful artist who will have added them in Edinburgh. The fourth side of these wings bears the Trinity on "the Throne of Grace." The composition was obviously derived from the type set by Campin and frequently repeated by his followers.[1] The donor's panel is finest of the four and is a noble work, dignified in composition, and setting forth in monumental fashion the distinguished presence of the strong and capable Provost. Hugo thought of Van Eyck's St. Cecilia when he was painting the angel at the organ, but he lifted her left hand from the keys and laid it on the donor's shoulder. A hymn to the Trinity is inscribed on the open pages of the music-book. Friedländer supposes that the young prince behind the king is his son, the future James IV, but he was only eight years old when Hugo went mad, and by no possibility can the wings be dated after 1478, at which time the boy was only six years old. But the kneeling prince can scarcely be less than sixteen and must, therefore, represent not the king's son, but his brother Alexander, Duke of Albany, who up to 1472 was heir-presumptive. That, therefore, is the latest possible date for this painting. Indeed, when we remember that the royal portraits were obviously added in Scotland and were no part of Hugo's work, an interval of time amounting to a year may be added, and we may safely conclude that the panels left our artist's hands no later than 1471. The Liechtenstein triptych may be thrown back to 1470 as about its latest probable date.

I make bold to introduce and group together as painted by our master about this time, that is to say, 1471–3, two pictures evidently of about the same date, whereof one is usually ascribed to the last year of Hugo's activity. Let us first dispose of the less important. It is a diptych, or, at least, a pair of companion pictures, painted in tempera on linen. The subject of one is a Descent from the Cross, of the other a group of mourners. The latter still exists in a damaged condition at Berlin. The former

[1] Examples may be cited in the Louvain Museum, the Hermitage, S. Alessandro at Bergamo, and on the Berne Museum vestments.

is represented by a version at Altenburg, said to be a copy in tempera on linen, and by another copy on panel in the Bargello at Florence. Imitations of both were made at later dates, and the originals must have had a certain prestige, or the designs been kept as useful patterns in some Netherlands workshops. Tempera paintings of religious subjects on linen were commonly made for export, being light and easy to carry.

The Deposition sheet is connected with the more important picture we next have to consider by the facial type and treatment of the head of a bearded man behind the dead Christ. The same head might have been employed unchanged for an Apostle in the other picture, which depicts the Death of the Virgin, a large painting on panel now in the town-gallery of Bruges, which Hugo painted for the Abbey of the Dunes. This has generally been considered the latest of his extant works, an assumption which has brought confusion into the deduced sequence of them. The reader should observe that Martin Schongauer in his engraving of the same subject shows knowledge of Hugo's composition, and that Schongauer's engraving was copied by Wenzel von Olmütz in 1481. An interval of nearer ten years than two is likely to have separated the original painting from the engraving at second-hand. For these reasons I venture to place the Bruges Death of the Virgin about the year 1472 rather than 1479, where previous writers have located it. Hugo's vigour here found a completer expression than in any of his earlier works. He has passed out of the area of precedent and tradition and taken an independent standpoint of his own. The bed is not beheld sideways as in the National Gallery picture, but end-on; technical difficulties of drawing and foreshortening are thus increased, but triumphed over. The change brings the hovering Christ into a central position over the Virgin's head, but that heavenly vision adds nothing to the power of the imagined event. Hugo had to bring it in; he did not introduce it by choice. It is evident that only the human beings in the room below were generated by a true creative force within him; the others were constructed, not born. Every face and figure of an Apostle had lived in the artist's imagination before it appeared on his panel. Hence the vividness of their vitality. The figures fit together like old friends accustomed to one another's company.

The affection that unites them is obvious. The spectator's sympathy goes out to them willingly. Just so we can believe such a group might have behaved and looked. If only the figure of Christ had been omitted we should be better pleased. Below all is fact and Hugo's realm; above is fancy, and of that he had no gift. But the eye is held by the living people. It wanders satisfied and interested from face to face. We ask no questions and make no criticisms. All that is upon the earth is wholly credible in this picture, and it suffices. Hugo from the first had delighted in the study of hands and found in them as much character as in heads; here he surpassed all his previous efforts and made the hands powerfully expressive. The general effect of the whole picture is one of force. The types are peasant-like and rugged with features lined and strained for mere delight in their ruggedness. The painter must have been passing through some stage of high exultation when he thus painted, thus conceived. The result is not great art, but it is the raw material out of which by the toil and discipline of life great art may presently arise. Regarded as an immature transitional work of a tempestuously developing artist, the picture finds a logical position at this moment of Hugo's career, but placed at the end of it would be incongruous.

We thus, in the course of an orderly evolution, arrive at the first and best known of his great pictures—the Portinari triptych, now in the Uffizi at Florence, whither in our own day it has been removed from that hospital of Santa Maria Nuova in which its donor placed it. It is one of the largest Flemish pictures extant. An artist of Hugo's fiery nature probably painted fast, but the method of the Van Eycks which he employed could not be rushed. So big a picture would fill the working hours of not less than three years. The apparent ages of the donor's children, whose birth-dates are known, enable us to estimate that the wings, which would be finished last, were painted about 1475. In that year Hugo laid down his office of dean of the painters' guild and retired into the Augustinian Roode-Clooster, near Brussels. We may guess that he delivered the altar-piece before taking that step. It is the only picture authentically recorded as his work, and by universal assent it is regarded as one of the finest products of

Netherlands art. Probably no other artist of the school could have painted on so large a scale with success. The local method was to divide the area of a big picture into parts and make each a separate painting. Hugo's practice with decorative linens made it pleasurable to him to work on this life-size scale. The central panel contains the Nativity. The Virgin kneels before the new-born Babe, on whom the chief light falls, not from it proceeding as commonly but erroneously stated. Joseph, having kicked off his sandals, adores from a remoter position. Angels with richly coloured wings and robes kneel around or hover in the air like gathering birds. From one side the shepherds are just approaching, their faces full of wonder and delight. Portinari and his two boys on the left wing are under the protection of St. Anthony and St. Thomas. His wife and daughters with their patron saints, Magdalen and Margaret, occupy the other wing. The influence of Van Eyck may be traced, but little of Roger; a small angel or two in the background alone recall him.

Hugo was not by nature mystical or religious. His work seems to imply a love of good cheer and the joys of life. His youth is likely to have been stormy, his temperament too tempestuous for his will. Perhaps he fled into the convent for protection which he could not provide for himself. The realism of the work tells its own tale; even John van Eyck and later Peter Bruegel were not at heart more realist than he. The heads in the picture are vigorous portraits. Portinari is displayed as a man of position and refinement. The boys, quelled into quietness for the moment, are potential of mischief. Equally well realized are the lady and her little girl. They and their saints are painted with a delicate and reverential hand. The Magdalen is, perhaps, the finest full-length figure of a woman drawn in the Netherlands in those days. Not here, however, was the painter's interest most keenly concentrated, but in the shaggy male saints and the shepherds; for them he found acceptable models in the peasantry of the countryside. They live before us on this panel, no ideal Corydons, but the very men themselves, fresh from the fields and villages of the neighbourhood. Their horny hands, rude features, and awkward gestures guarantee their genuineness. Obviously, they had not been sought for this one occasion. Hugo must have studied such folk long and

often in their homes, and familiarized himself with their lives and ways by careful observation, as Peter Bruegel did three-quarters of a century later. The only mediæval class that still survives in Europe is the agricultural labourer. Such as he still is in out-of-the-way places, such he always has been. The bent figures of these three have been shaped by their labour. Their faces have been hardened and sculptured by exposure, frost, and storm. The composition is not formal—Hugo has passed beyond need of a formula—it begins to be subtle. The aspect of haphazard is deceptive. The figures are placed and designed with skill in their relation to one another. All the component parts have been carefully studied and ably combined. The student will not fail to note the excellent painting of the flowers and their pots in the foreground. Such flower-painting was to be carried on by Hugo's successors at Ghent and Bruges, the Binninks and Horenbouts, and their assistant miniaturists. The whole picture is a comprehensive assemblage of facts, but of facts illumined by imagination. The world in which Hugo lived was not a dreamland, but out of its actualities he constructed waking dreams that seem as real as life itself.

Perhaps just before Hugo's retirement from the world, he may also have painted those two delicate portraits of Hippolyte de Berthoz and his wife which he added to the landscape already prepared for them by Bouts on one of the wings of the triptych painted by that artist. Bouts died in 1475 and Goes was employed to value his unfinished work. This may have been part of it, and Hugo may have then been invited to make good the deficiency. On the other hand, if Bouts had ever intended to paint the portraits himself he would surely have begun with them, not with the landscape. The reader will remember what was written above about Bouts as a landscape painter. I suspect that this is another example of his late habit of confining his work mainly to landscapes and confiding the figures to other hands. On this occasion Hugo, perhaps, dealt more freely with his share of the work than would have been permissible if Bouts had not died. As it was, he could do what he pleased, and he painted over a portion of the distance and changed its tint to make it harmonize with the colours of the costumes in the foreground. The two portraits are painted

with exceeding delicacy and are a further proof of the direction toward which Hugo's art was tending. He was passing out of his period of rough and brutal strength into one of greater refinement and reserve. Now or little later he may also have painted the fine pair of heads of a donor and his patron St. John Baptist on a panel at Amsterdam (984A), which may be a portion cut out of a larger wing-panel. The reverent attention of the donor, whose eyes are fixed on some heavenly vision to which his saint directs him, is admirably rendered. It is not merely the man's fixed character that is here set down, but a transient expression; we must wait for Massys before we shall find a face more efficiently illuminated by a passing mood.

By great good luck, we possess an account of Hugo's life in the Convent in Roodendaal written by a fellow-monk, Brother Ofhuys of Tournay; some translated and condensed selections from it are here appended: "I was a novice," he writes, "when Van der Goes entered the convent [in the autumn of 1475, says Sander]. He was so famous a painter that men said his like was not to be found this side of the Alps. In his worldly days he did not belong to the upper classes; nevertheless, after his reception into the Convent and during his novitiate, the Prior permitted him many relaxations more suggestive of worldly pleasure than of penance and humiliation, and thus awakened jealousy in many of our brethren, who said, 'Novices ought not to be favoured, but kept down.' Often noble lords, and among others the Archduke Maximilian, came to visit him and admire his pictures.[1] At their request, he received permission to remain and dine with them in the guest-chamber. He was often cast down by attacks of melancholy, especially when he thought of the number of works he had to finish. His love of wine, however, was his greatest enemy, and for that at the guest-table there was no restraint. In the fifth or sixth year after he had taken the habit [i.e. in 1480 or 1481], he undertook a journey to Cologne with his brother Nicholas and others. On the way back he had such an attack of melancholy that he would have laid violent hands on himself had he not been forcibly restrained by his friends. They brought him under restraint to Brussels and so back to the convent.

[1] Art-loving Max, afterwards Emperor, was at Roodendaal in 1478.

The Prior was called in, and he sought by the sounds of music to lessen Hugo's passion. For a long time all was useless; he suffered under the dread that he was a son of damnation. At length his condition improved. Thenceforward, of his own will, he gave up the habit of visiting the guest-chamber and took his meals with the lay-brothers." This cannot have lasted long, for he died in 1482.

From the foregoing, it is evident that Hugo did not take the cowl in order to lay down the brush, but rather that he might devote himself to his art under quiet and orderly conditions of life without the distractions and temptations of the world. He laboured on for five years in the very ripeness of his powers, and though we have no doubt lost some of the work then produced, it is reasonably certain that the two important pictures now to be considered were painted at this time. They are the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi, both comparatively recent additions to the Berlin Gallery and both painted on a large scale. Each is about eight feet in width, the Nativity some three feet high, the Adoration being about half as tall again. Such dimensions imply that the panels formed parts of larger assemblages and did not contain compositions complete in themselves. In the case of the latter, existing copies and a drawing at Basle of about 1501 by Holbein the Elder enable us to assert that the panel was surmounted originally by a triangular pediment filled with angels and supplying the air and space overhead which the truncated composition so obviously lacks. Both pictures came out of Spain, but the existence of the Holbein drawing implies that one of them, at least, was not painted for that country. It is unrecorded when or under what circumstances the Convent of Monforte, its last owner, obtained it. The history of the other picture does not reach back more than a few decades.[1]

The Adoration of the Magi is Hugo's maturest and most perfect work; the Nativity serves well to link it with the Portinari triptych. We may therefore assume that the Nativity in point of time may have slightly preceded the Magi. The wide low form of the panel set a difficult problem in composition. Our artist simplified

[1] Bertaux (meeting of the *Acad. des Inscrip.*, Dec. 9, 1910) contended that both pictures adorned a single altar and were parts of one altar-piece.

his task by filling each end with the half-length figure of a prophet. The pair are employed to draw and hold aside curtains, after the manner of angels in late Gothic Italian tombs of Pisan type, thus displaying or revealing the mystic group to the spectator. The figures composing it are arranged with an approximation to symmetry unusual with Hugo, and the cherubs instead of being scattered about as at Florence are concentrated behind the crib. Virgin and angels possess more formal beauty of type than we have met in his pictures before, while the shepherds are less close to nature, less vigorously and sympathetically studied from life, than those we recently admired. It is evident that Hugo is living in a new atmosphere. He has not gone to the class of toilers for his models for prophets and saints, as was his former wont, neither is Joseph the shaggy carpenter of the Portinari triptych, but a better kempt if not a better bred individual. The same model recurs in that lost Adoration of the Magi imitated by Gerard David in the fine picture at Munich and known by a stricter copy at Berlin. The original must likewise belong to the cloistered period of the artist's career. The kings and attendants in it are marked by the greater mildness and serenity of these last days. It is not so well composed as the Berlin Nativity, the painter being troubled what to do with so many legs in the kneeling position, which was always a difficulty for him.

Hugo's daily association with a better class of companions in the convent and his contact with people of rank obviously had an effect. His last picture, the splendid Monforte Magi, manifests it. He is no whit less vital than before, but he deals with other than the peasant class. The types he now selects are refined. This is specially observable in the pages attendant in the background. They are well-bred, well-combed, and well-dressed. There is no nonsense of imagined super-piety about them. Hugo did not include them among the adorers, but interested them in watching the movements of a member of the royal suite. There are some excellent portraits among the subsidiary figures : a man in a blue cap is thought to be the likeness of the artist. Who can say ? The composition is the best he ever attained, and free from monotony or awkwardness of pose. The setting is not remarkable and does not distract attention from the figures,

and especially the heads, on which the painter lavished his pains. The colouring is brilliant and beautiful, but it is by the wonderful handling of the light that the whole is solidified and transfigured. There is no need to assume the advent of an Italian or other foreign influence. The ripe powers here exercised are the artist's own, developed along normal lines and enriched by the experience of a laborious life. He might have gone on to a yet higher achievement had health and strength permitted, for he was still learning, still putting forth and unfolding the buds that grew on his vigorous stem into splendid flowers. But with this picture, as far as posterity was concerned, his life-work was done. The days of gloom settled upon him and in 1482, as aforesaid, he died in the comfortable surroundings of a sympathetic brotherhood. He was buried in the cloister-garth of the convent, and at a later date an epitaph was set up to his memory in the church.

Hugo van der Goes was by far the most important artist in the city of Ghent in his day. Unfortunately, we are less well informed about the arts there than in any other of the leading art-centres in the Netherlands at that time, except Antwerp and Haarlem. It is obvious that Hugo exerted a strong influence upon his contemporaries, but it is a little difficult to trace. An excellent French artist appears to have been formed by him; I refer to the attractive painter designated the Maître de Moulins. One of his earliest known works is the Nativity, with Cardinal Rolin (ob. 1483) as donor, a picture preserved in the Évêché at Autun. The portrait, the peasants, and the angels alike assert their direct provenance from Hugo. Specially to be noted as taught by him is the drawing of the hands. A student who will compare the picture detail by detail with Hugo's works will not need to have the resemblances pointed out to him. A peculiar gesture of the hands which the Moulins Master employs in his Brussels Madonna and an Annunciation (probably in America) is likewise a trick borrowed from Hugo, as may be seen from the Florentine Nativity. The proportionate relation between Saint and donor on wing panels is common to both, and many more links might be cited. So close is the resemblance between pupil and master that two pictures have actually been attributed to Hugo which are now acknowledged to have been painted by

the Maître de Moulins—the donor and Saint at Glasgow and the portrait of Cardinal Charles de Bourbon at Nuremberg.

Two half-length portraits of man and wife in the Uffizi are often ascribed to the hand of Hugo van der Goes. They were, however, painted by a skilful follower to whom likewise may be ascribed a picture of a female Saint and donors which was in Lord Taunton's collection and is, at this time of writing, in the hands of a London dealer. The rigidly posed Saint stands in the midst between a kneeling man and two women. The heads of these portraits, rather too large for their bodies, are painted with a delicacy considerably surpassing that of the rest of the picture. Evidently the artist was by preference a portraitist, and had little interest in saints and such-like. The background gives a view into a convent chapel, and the picture was doubtless painted for some nunnery. It is in works of this kind that the perishing of the old religious art of the Gothic age and its replacement by the realism of the Renaissance can be plainly traced.

If, some day, the work of Gerard van der Meire is identified, our present ignorance about the Ghent School of painting will be diminished. Meanwhile, the reader may be reminded that that city was an important centre of miniature painting. It was, as Hulin has pointed out, the home of two prolific and famous families of miniaturists: the Binninks and the Horenbauts. Alexander Binnink became a master in the Painters' Guild early in 1469. He married Cathelyne van der Goes, considered by Hulin to be a sister of the great master. Their sons, Simon and Paul Binnink, were both famous miniaturists whose works are known. Count Durrieu has identified a number of manuscripts as the work of their father, Alexander. He originated the style of work which found its most elaborate expression a generation later in the famous Grimani Breviary and other allied manuscripts. How far the influence of Van der Goes can be traced in this school a reader who has access to characteristic manuscripts will be able to judge. It was not small.

One noteworthy follower of Goes has been disentangled by Winkler[1] and indicated as the painter of three good pictures, to which Friedländer would add several more. He was doubtless

[1] *Berlin Mus. Amtl. Ber.*, Jan. 1916.

a Ghent artist. His most considerable work is a group of the Virgin surrounded by her relatives which hangs in the Ghent Museum. There is nothing very inspiring about it. The type of composition appears to have been a local product. A half-length Madonna, with the Child standing uncertainly on a cushion, is by the same artist and may be seen in the Antwerp Museum. More attractive than either of these is an Annunciation on two round-topped panels at Berlin, with a long view through pleasant rooms and a sunlit corridor behind. This man was no great artist, though agreeable enough, and need not apologize for having lived, as most of us should.

Hulin also locates as works of the Ghent School an Adoration of the Magi in the Fry Collection at Bristol (Bruges Exhibition, 1902, No. 323) and another of unexplained subject which is in the Chapel of the Holy Blood at Bruges (same Exhibition, No. 45). They are identified as of Ghent by resemblances to a historically important triptych with the Crucifixion which hangs in St. Bavon's. It is not a great work of art, but definitely local. The name of Gerard van der Meire attached to it is a mere guess, in favour of which nothing can be said. Long and ugly noses are characteristic of these pictures, but also some conspicuously short ones. Was Ghent in difficulty with the human nose ? That organ as treated in a curious picture of Christ among the Doctors, belonging to the Duc d'Arenberg at Brussels (Dusseldorf Ex., 1904, No. 143), might suggest a Ghent origin for it also ; but some have thought to trace in it reminiscences of Campin, not easy to discover. For other information about the Ghent School the local Museum and its catalogue are the best authorities.

A far better artist than the foregoing, though of a later period than we are here generally discussing, was he who painted a triptych now in Buckingham Palace. The subject is the Coronation of the Virgin in the midst of a numerous company of the heavenly host, who are depicted below and on the wings. Those in front, seen from behind, looking upward are rather awkwardly posed, but there is no little charm in the kneeling ranks of saints further up on either hand, and the painting of costumes, crowns, and other accessories is the work of an accomplished technician. He does not, indeed, rise to the height of his subject in the central

group, but how could we expect him to when and where he lived ? He and his like were truly interested only in actual living human beings. Dreamland was no longer for them. Hence it is the portrait-like heads and the fine costumes that most attract us in the picture, as they most interested its painter. Upon them he lavished his stores of observation and all his acquired skill. The influence of Hugo van der Goes is here evident enough ; but was the picture painted in Ghent ? Some have thought that it contains elements which are French. The future must decide. To the same painter I venture to attribute a pretty Virgo inter Virgines in the Benziger de Glutz Collection at Soleure. There are the same attractive women in both and similar elaborate thrones, but the background of the latter picture is closely packed with landscape detail—women plucking flowers from a rose-trellis in a garden, a little hermitage under a rock, a knight riding towards it, and apparently an incident in the Legend of St. Anthony. Both pictures belong, however, to a time about coincident with the early days of the activity of Mabuse, and are only mentioned here because of their apparent affiliation to the school of Van der Goes.

Another artist, who may have been a Netherlander, though it is evident that he worked chiefly in France, is the Master of St. Giles. He takes his name from two beautifully painted wing-panels concerned with the Legend of St. Giles, one of which has already been referred to in connexion with the Exhumation of St. Hubert. It belongs to Mrs. Stewart Mackenzie ; the other is in the National Gallery. Friedländer says that two pictures of a Bishop's legend sold in the Baron de B. Auction (Paris, 1883) may have formed part of the same altar-piece.[1] They depict a Bishop, standing before a cathedral, blessing some sick folk, and the same Bishop (perhaps Remigius) baptizing a king (Clovis). On the National Gallery panel the Saint is protecting the fawn. The foreground is occupied by numerous figures remarkable for the excellent painting of their clothes, and still more for the variety of the human types and the unwearied minuteness with which the faces and hands are studied. In the background is a wide-extending and beautiful landscape, including a town depicted in much detail. Canon Nicolas of Nîmes claims that

[1] In the *Repertorium*, xvi, p. 105, Tschudi put together the work of this artist.

this town is none other than Saint-Gilles in the South of France,[1] with all the churches standing in correct relation to one another as they stood before the destruction wrought by the religious wars of the sixteenth century. If this identification is accepted, the artist must have been a considerable traveller, for the other panel proves him to have spent some time at the Abbey of St. Denis, otherwise he could not have depicted the high altar and its surroundings in the church with such accuracy as in Mrs. Stewart Mackenzie's picture. Again, we have the same brilliant colouring and the same patient realization of the heads and hands of his models, all obviously studied from life. I have written at length in *Archæologia* (vol. lxvi, p. 103) on the architecture and decorative objects depicted—the golden frontal of Charles the Bald, the Cross of St. Eloy, la Sainte Couronne, the shrine of St. Louis, and the monument of Dagobert—and need not here repeat the facts there set down. The artist's weakness in perspective is apparent in the foreground, though he succeeds in the more difficult task of projecting the complicated architecture aloft on his flat panel. It is thought that he may derive, though perhaps indirectly, from Hugo van der Goes, and I have therefore introduced him at this point, but the connexion is not close. He takes an important position among the early painters of interiors alongside of the St. Hubert Master, Ouwater, Geertgen, and another Dutchman, who had many successors in later generations. To him also are ascribed a pair of wing-panels in the Kaufmann Collection. One of these, depicting the Presentation in the Temple, has for background the first example of Renaissance architecture ever introduced into a picture of this school. It was not of the artist's invention, but copied by him, with understanding, from an engraving after a drawing by Bramante, the date of which is not earlier than 1495. The well-designed figures on a sculptured frieze above the background niche, though not in the original, take their place with no appearance of intrusion—a proof how well the painter had grasped the spirit of the new kind of design. This artist has also been credited with a Christ before Pilate at Prague, a Betrayal in the Cardon Collection, a half-length Madonna which was at Kleinberger's in Paris, and a St. Jerome kneeling in a

[1] *Une nouvelle hist. de St.-G.*; Nîmes, 1912.

landscape in Berlin Museum. The last-mentioned is an early example of a type of subject which became a favourite with Gerard David, Ysenbrandt, and their school, following the example of several Venetians. The landscape resembles that in the Saint-Gilles picture, but the detailed rendering of plants in the foreground is even more elaborate and recalls the careful studies of vegetable life Dürer was beginning to make about the same time. Such simultaneities are no proof of personal connexion, but they indicate the tendencies of the day to a closer interest in nature—a tendency which likewise found expression in the cultivation of gardens. Another conspicuous example of minute nature-study of the same date is in a picture of St. Christopher at Dessau (No. 245) wrongly attributed to Dürer. The plants in the foreground are studied with the same detail and for the same delight in their natural form as by the Master of St. Giles, but by some German artist with whom neither he nor Dürer is likely to have come in contact. The St. Giles Master's subject-pictures have already led us to regard him as a good portrait-painter, but only a single pair of formal portraits have been, as yet, referred to him. They are at Chantilly and depict a man and wife of the burgher class—strong faces, scarred and moulded by no easy life, and knobbly like knots of wood ; pathetic pictures both of them, and creditable to their maker, who here also shows himself of the same artistic kindred as Hugo van der Goes, but neither he nor the Maître de Moulins caught that master's fire. They were influenced by him and learned much from him, but they were not of the same fibre as he. In all that was strongest and best in it Hugo's art was personal, original, incommunicable. Forms and methods he could hand on, but not the spirit which gave them life. That was born in him, led him a wildish life-dance, stamped itself indelibly upon whatever he made, and died with him. It was authentic genius.

CHAPTER XIV

JUSTUS OF GHENT

Joos van Wassenhove was admitted to free mastership in the Antwerp Painters' Guild in the year 1460. That is the first mention we have of him. Whence he came, who was his teacher, when and where he was born—there is silence on these and all other matters connected with his origin and his shaping. We may guess that he was born between 1430 and 1435, but no one knows. Later than 1435 he cannot have been born. He was therefore of about the same age and generation as Hugo van der Goes, probably a little older than he. Apparently Joos did not prosper at Antwerp. Till Bruges seriously declined Antwerp was unimportant, and in 1460 Bruges was at the top of her prosperity. On October 6, 1464, Joos purchased the freedom of the Guild at Ghent, and, no doubt, moved himself and his goods over from Antwerp to that city. What works he painted at this time are unknown. It has been suggested that this and the other unattached picture may have been done by him in these early days—a Crucifixion in the J. G. Johnson Collection, a couple of half-length Madonnas—but there is no general agreement about them. The young artist remains hidden and we cannot yet remove the veil. Perhaps he was working as a tapestry designer. There is a large piece in Boston Museum with the Creation, Nativity, Baptism, Crucifixion, and figures of Apostles and Prophets, given to him by Bernath, which may owe him its design. Who can say? The head of Christ in the Baptism is very like that in a picture to come, and there are other resemblances. Enough to arouse a suspicion, but not to assure confidence.

In 1467 the archives again speak. On the 5th day of May Hugo van der Goes obtained the freedom of the Ghent Guild, and Joos was one of his sureties, while in the following January

Joos and Hugo together were sureties on a like occasion for Sanders Binnink, the miniaturist, who became connected by marriage with Hugo, probably his brother-in-law. It seems to follow that Hugo and Joos were intimate and that Joos was, if anything, the senior. Joos can scarcely have been Hugo's pupil, though the two may have been fellow-pupils in some unidentified studio at Antwerp, Ghent, or elsewhere. If their art shows a common factor, that will have come to both from a common source rather than to one from the other. In this same year 1467 they were employed together by the Ghent authorities to paint heraldic decorations for a pageant, but that and the suretyship for Binnink are the last mention of Joos in Flemish documents. Thenceforward he vanished from the Netherlands and is heard of there no more. There is, indeed, one echo of him from far away. It comes in the accounts of an executor of the estate of one Van der Sikkel, who died in 1474 and had been the owner of the house rented by Hugo. It appears that Hugo, on behalf of his landlord, had advanced a sum of money to our Joos toward the expenses of a journey to Rome; Hugo was given credit for this payment as part of his rent. So Joos went "to Rome" some time between 1468 and 1474, probably about 1470, as we shall see.

It was not, however, in Rome that he settled, but in Urbino, there to work for the Duke on the decoration of his study in the new Palace. Vespasiano de Bisticci, the Duke's librarian, records that his master sent to Flanders for a skilful master (*un maestro solenne*) for that purpose, because he "knew no one in Italy who understood how to paint in oil-colours." Joos, who is henceforward to be known as Maestro Giusto da Guanto, was obviously the said *maestro solenne* for reasons that will be immediately apparent. His chief work in the study was to paint the twenty-eight pictures of philosophers which still exist in the Barberini Palace at Rome and the Louvre, half and half, as well as certain portraits and other decorative pictures elsewhere in the Palace.

Soon after his arrival, however, he received another commission, and this time there is no doubt about the artist's name, for the payments to him are recorded. It came from the Urbino Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament. That body had been ambitious to possess a fine painting for their altar and had for some time

been saving up and begging together money to pay for it. Already between 1466 and 1469 the predella had been painted for it by Paolo Uccello and duly paid for. Then in 1469 Piero della Francesca had come by invitation to Urbino to consider whether he would paint the main picture, but perhaps the money available did not suffice for him; at any rate, he did not do the work. In September 1470 the wood for the great panel was purchased; the joinery of it was finished in February 1471. Probably this was only put in hand when arrangements had been completed with Joos, and that is why we believe him to have reached Urbino in 1470. The picture was delivered in 1474 and set up over its altar. It now hangs in the town gallery and is the only absolutely authenticated painting by our artist.

The Flemish origin of the work, its relationship to that of Hugo van der Goes, leap to the eye at a first glance. Not the Last Supper, but the Institution of the Sacrament, an ancient Byzantine subject, is here chosen as obviously suitable for the altar-piece of this confraternity. Christ, a strangely posed figure, stands before the table in the midst, distributing the Host, which the Apostles kneel to receive. In no other picture known to me, of this or any date, is reverence more solemnly represented than here. These shaggy men, almost as rude as the peasants of Hugo, are overwhelmed by emotion, which expresses itself, not in the face alone, but animates the whole body. Angels, again like Hugo's, hover in the air, and one stands holding the flask of wine. Behind we see the Duke addressing a richly clad personage who is none other than the Venetian Caterino Zeno,[1] at this time present at Urbino as special envoy from Uzun Hasan, Turkoman of the White Sheep, who reigned in the parts of Armenia and Persia

[1] The White Sheep Dynasty (1378–1502) was founded by a grant of lands in Armenia and Mesopotamia by Tamerlane. Diarbekr was the capital. Uzun Hasan (ob. 1478) and his son Yakub (ob. 1485) were its best-known chieftains. Uzun Hasan's wife was daughter of Calo Johannes, one of the last Emperors of Trebizond. Caterino Zeno, merchant of Venice, was her sister's son-in-law. He was sent by Venice to persuade Uzun Hasan to attack Mohammed II, who had recently captured Constantinople (1453). In 1472 hostilities were opened, but not with success. Then Uzun Hasan sent Caterino Zeno to rouse the princes of Christendom, but he failed to do so. Thereupon Uzun Hasan withdrew from further attack on the Ottoman power. See P. M. Sykes, *History of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 220, and the Hakluyt Society's volume, *Travels of Venetians in Persia*.

in those days. This figure is obviously almost borrowed from that of the Prince in Bouts' Martyrdom of St. Erasmus. Further back, just within the door, is a woman with a child in her arms. The child is Federigo's son, the future Duke Guidobaldo; the woman may be his recently deceased mother, Battista Sforza, who died in July 1472, when her baby was about six months old. They say that her portrait in the Uffizi by Piero della Francesca resembles this.[1]

The family likeness in types and design between this altar-piece and the work of Hugo is obvious. It has been assumed that the likeness is due to the influence of Hugo upon Joos. Can that be the true explanation? If Joos left Ghent in 1470 or even in 1469 and Hugo began to work there, perhaps as his assistant, in May 1467, there was hardly time for the younger artist to make so strong an impression on the older. It seems to me far more likely, bearing in mind the evident friendship uniting them, that they had been in close relation at some earlier period of their career, and may have learned their art together in the studio of a common master. Hugo as the stronger naturally influenced the other, and the effect is evident if we compare the Urbino altar-piece with Hugo's at Florence. Such traditions, such style, as Joos had acquired at home and brought to Italy with him, he displayed in this picture. Of Italian infiltration there is as yet little trace; but in the eight-and-twenty philosophers it begins to be apparent. One might call them Flamingo-Italians. Some of the faces are taken from Italian originals, but the hands are always the hands of Flanders. The draperies are half and half. The head of Ptolemy is almost copied from that of John the Baptist in the Ghent altar-piece, as Destrée pointed out. Of course, Joos had a humanist scholar at his elbow to direct him and sometimes a model to follow. He did not invent Petrarch. Always, too, there was the atmosphere of Italy about him and Italian work to look at. Perhaps he made a friend or two among the artists in his new home. Was Piero della Francesca one of them, or Melozzo? It has been claimed for Joos that he painted the

[1] It is stated (in *Monatshefte*, 1912, p. 460) that six of the twelve panels of the wings of this altar-piece still exist in Urbino Cathedral, and that they contain another half-dozen Apostles, one a-piece, like sculptures in niches.

kneeling portrait of Duke Federigo into Piero's altar-piece which is in the Brera. Co-operation tries human relations. There was Giovanni Santi, Raphael's father, working in Urbino in these days. It is thought that he may have helped Joos with the twenty-eight. Giovanni, in later days, wrote a rhymed chronicle in honour of his Duke, with special reference to the work of artists under his patronage. He says nothing about Justus of Ghent. We may infer that he was jealous of the intruder from the North, and we may guess that he did not stand alone in that emotion. Equally clear, however, is it that the Duke was well satisfied with the foreigner's service ; and well he might be, for the philosophers are excellently painted and must have made the room they adorned quite an interesting place. What a pity they were not left where they belonged ! Nowadays they have faded in colour and grown dark and dirty-looking, but patient examination reveals finely composed figures, each duly solid and rather vividly conceived—grave and reverend signiors every one. Each was explained by inscribed verses, which have been recorded, and beneath the double row of paintings was the beautiful intarsia panelling still in place.

About this time Joos also painted, for some high place upon the wall, the portrait of Federigo, reading in a book, with his (say, four-year-old) son by his side. One would suppose that the place for this picture would be in the library. A full description of that room exists ; it was mainly surrounded by bookcases. Adjacent was a chamber for which those seven Liberal Arts seem to have been painted whereof two are in the National Gallery and another two at Berlin. They have caused the critics much divergent discourse, some claiming them for one artist, some for another, but the more part (till recently) voting for Melozzo da Forli. It is always pleasant to think that a picture may be by Melozzo : he was an attractive painter ; not profound nor highly imaginative, nor, in fact, any way great, but quite delightful all the same, with a certain rightness of design and pleasing faculty of choosing nice models and posing and clothing them agreeably. The four surviving Arts certainly recall Melozzo in design, but Joos in execution. It is hardly possible to think that a Fleming could have become so Italianized in six years as to have been entirely

responsible for these pictures. He had indeed advanced a long way from Flanders in the philosophers, but some Italian may have helped him with them. The Arts, however, are more than double the distance further along that road. If the hand is, as I believe, the hand of Joos, the design may owe much to Melozzo's help. Destrée, however, has justly pointed out that Ghent traditions are not absent, and that the head of Music is imitated from the Virgin's in the Van Eyck altar-piece. This alone suffices to disprove the authorship of Melozzo.

For some other position in one of the Duke's rooms—a lecture-room, perhaps, if there was one—our artist, and none but he, both designed and painted a decorative picture which has found its way in a battered condition into Windsor Castle. This also was to be fixed upon a wall, and, as with the philosophers, so, too, with the people here visible, they are depicted as seated in a gallery into which we can look from below through the inter-spaces of a colonnade. Here is Federigo again with the boy Guidobaldo by his side, now some six years old. The Duke in this, as in the preceding portrait, wears the insignia of the Order of the Garter, conferred on him in 1474 by Edward IV. Behind the princes are three courtiers seated in a row, all attending to the discourse of an appallingly long-nosed professor, who is holding forth from a pulpit facing them. Federigo is evidently enjoying the lecture, and his face is bright and attentive, but everyone else looks bored and the professor boring. I can never see this picture without remembering Matthew Arnold's description of a Social Science Congress: a "room in one of our dismal provincial towns; dusty air and jaded afternoon daylight; benches full of men with bald heads and women in spectacles; an orator lifting up his face from a manuscript written within and without . . . and in the soul of any poor child of nature who may have wandered in thither, an unutterable sense of lamentation and mourning and woe!" I suspect many of the new humanists were like the glaciers of which Douglas Freshfield said, "It's doubtful whether they excavate, but it is certain that they bore." Fortunately, we are not the audience, but spectators, and not of the scene, but of a picture of it, the most delightful picture ever painted by our artist; so spacious is it, so beautifully composed, so serenely



1. THE MASTER OF ST. GILES. MASS IN ST. DENIS.—p. 191.



2. A FOLLOWER OF HUGO VAN DER GOES. BUCKINGHAM PALACE.—p. 189.



3. JUSTUS OF GHENT. A COURTIER OF URBINO. BERGAMO.—p. 158.



4. JUSTUS OF GHENT. P. VAN MIDDELBURG LECTURING (1478–80). WINDSOR.—p. 198.

[*To face page* 198.

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competent. Nothing is out of place, nothing too much. The crowding and bungling characteristic of so many Northern artists have been refined away.

The courtier on the extreme right of the picture meets us again on a little panel in the gallery at Bergamo, which has been ascribed to Mabuse and later to the Ursula Master. It was, in fact, painted by Joos. Possibly the sitter may not be the same as the courtier in question, but assuredly the painter of both is the same. What a proper young man he looks!—a well-disciplined secretary, perhaps. A narrow brocaded curtain hangs behind the head, with fragments of landscape visible to right and left of it. They are obviously Flemish, these bits of landscape, with waters, bridges, manor-house, hills, trees, and so forth which form the normal ingredients of Flemish landscape backgrounds. Italy goes for a good deal in the painting of the head, but for nothing at all in the landscape. If the attribution of this portrait to Justus is accepted, as it seems to me that it must be, he will also have to be regarded as the painter of another bust-portrait in the James Mann Collection, which bears a striking resemblance to it in style, but has a plain background. The subject is likewise an Italian, who may, perhaps, be identical with another of the Urbino lecturer's audience seated behind the Duke Federigo.[1]

Of other works attributed to Joos I can say little. There is an embroidered vestment, a *pluviale*, in Gubbio Cathedral for which he may have supplied designs. The head of a Salvator Mundi in the Gallery at Città di Castello (room ii, No. 18) is assigned to him by Venturi, and the photograph confirms the gift. We are also tempted to agree with Bernath in attributing a much-damaged Adoration of the Magi in Trevi Museum to our artist. The kings resemble his peasant-apostles. I see no reason to assign to him the Mater Dolorosa in the Palazzo Corsini at Rome, still less the Madonna there. Another Adoration of the Magi belonging to the Compagna della Misericordia at Volterra is known to me only by a bad photograph. It may have some connexion with Joos.

That, for the moment, is all I have to say about him. He was an interesting though not highly gifted artist, full of good

[1] See *Burlington Mag.*, Jan. 1917.

feeling and able to go on learning and developing as far along in his career as we can follow him. Neither his beginnings nor his endings are known to us. He appears; he disappears. The registers are silent, so far as we yet know. But the galleries and churches of Europe are many, and some day they may yield to a rightly prepared observation pictures recognizable as the work of his early or latest days. If every north country artist who went to Italy had gained as much and lost as little as Joos van Wassenhove the world would be richer by many masterpieces.

CHAPTER XV

SOME DUTCHMEN

A NAME tantalizing to the historian of Art is that of Albert Simonsz van Ouwater. Van Mander knew of his existence and had seen a retable by him in the great church at Haarlem. It was called the Roman altar-piece, because pilgrims to Rome had erected it. That was why it depicted the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, full-length standing figures, and for predella a curious landscape with pilgrims in it marching, resting, eating, and drinking. Predellas were a rare feature in Netherlands altar-pieces, but we shall meet with them again in Holland. Albert, continues our author, was clever at depicting heads, hands, draperies, and landscape. Unfortunately, the picture no longer exists. Van Mander had also seen a monochrome copy of another painting by the same master, in which the Raising of Lazarus was shown, as occurring within a church, after the manner of a mystery-play, the Apostles on one side, Jews on the other, beside some nice figures of women, and, away behind, folk peeping in at the miracle. The original was greatly admired by Heemskerk, but the Spaniards had looted it at the siege of Haarlem and carried it away. By great good luck this picture emerged a few years ago at Genoa in the hands of a family who remembered that it had come to them as a royal gift from Spain. The Berlin Museum snapped it up, and we all had great hopes that by its help we might be able to identify other works by the same master. Things have not so turned out. Critics have attempted to group other pictures with it, but no general agreement has been arrived at and it remains still unique—the artist's sole memorial.

It has already been referred to above, as evidently imitated in general arrangement from the Exhumation of St. Hubert, a picture which can hardly have been painted before 1460, probably later. We may, therefore, guess for the Lazarus 1470 as an

approximate date. A glance shows that it is not one of the great pictures of the fifteenth century. Rather light in tone, somewhat rudimentary in composition, conventional in lighting, quite undramatic, it is the work of a man of no high imagination, but painstaking, studious, and a competent craftsman. It is easy to see how much he depended upon his predecessors. The figure standing on the extreme right shows his indebtedness to Bouts, in whose studio he may have worked as pupil or assistant. The group of Jews recalls a corresponding group in the foreground of the Van Eyck Fountain of Living Water. The architecture, also, with its slender columns, sculptured capitals, and windows of bottle-glass, is borrowed from the Van Eycks. The crowd peeping through the door-hatch finds several prototypes, but it is here exceptionally well rendered, the depth of it being truthfully suggested, with a body implied under each head. In the same way, the groups to right and left have a depth which we miss in those designed by Bouts. Poor St. Peter is anything but an imposing figure. He resembles a second-rate showman, saying "That's how it's done!" Most attractive is the Mary standing on the left, a sweet, well-dressed, well-posed little Dutch lady, perhaps painted from the life. "This," says Van Mander, "is all that Time has preserved for us of the work of this old master to save his name from oblivion." Archives tell us nothing more, except that in 1467 a grave was made in the church of St. Bavon at Haarlem for "the daughter of Ouwater." She can scarcely have been a young child; so we may guess with a wide margin of error that the father was born about 1420. There are reasons to think that he may have lived till 1480 or later.

Far away in the San Carlos Museum of Mexico is a painting,[1] obviously by a follower of our artist. Its subject is the same as the foregoing, and many of the individual figures are borrowed from it, but an attempt has been made to hide the debt by changing their positions. The figure of Christ is obviously copied; nor was this the only artist who found it useful, for Gerard David almost repeated it on a panel in the Dublin Gallery. The background of the Mexico picture is likewise borrowed, this time from the Sibyl and Augustus at Frankfurt (No. 97). The figures in

[1] Reproduced in the *Archiv für Kunstgeschichte*, pl. 60.

that stand within the courtyard of a palace. The gateway is behind on the left, approached by a bridge over a moat. Beside the gate is a broad opening leading down from the court to the water and the swans. On the other side of this opening is a little garden-patch, and beyond it a wing of the house with a colonnaded portico. These features are repeated in reverse order in the Mexico picture.

The painter of the Sibyl undoubtedly likewise painted a Madonna which belongs to Mrs. Stephenson Clarke, at Haywards Heath.[1] Another enthroned Virgin with angels under a garden portico is in the Chapel Royal at Granada. It looks, in the photograph, as though it also might have been painted by him in Bouts' studio; at all events, the brocade on the back of the seat is identical with brocades in pictures undoubtedly painted by Bouts. If, however, this picture is by the senior master, as is quite possible, it plainly shows where the Sibyl Master derived his inspiration and fixes the period in Bouts' career when the young Dutchman was his pupil. A beautiful Virgo inter Virgines, which belonged or belongs to the King of Portugal and was (perhaps is) in the Necessidades Palace at Lisbon, may likewise be his work. I can only judge it from the good photograph published by the Arundel Club. It is wrongly ascribed to the Delft painter known as the Master of the Amsterdam Virgo inter Virgines, with whom we shall presently deal. It may well have been by his teacher. A Marriage of the Virgin in the J. G. Johnson Collection, which Valentiner attributes to the Sibyl Master, is not, I think, by him. Our artist is very careful about the perspective of his backgrounds; the painter of the Johnson picture is the reverse. On the other hand, the figures in the Marriage are more vivacious and co-operative; it is evidently the work of an artist of the Haarlem School of about this date.

If the small group of pictures thus defined as the work of the Sibyl Master (especially the Frankfurt and Clarke panels) are compared with Ouwater's Lazarus, some striking correspondencies will be observed. Note, for instance, the pose of the woman in the Sibyl picture, who has her left hand under her skirt; it is the same as that of one of the Maries in the Lazarus. Note, too,

[1] Bruges Exhibition (1902), No. 43.

the similar gestures of the small hands. Observe the careful painting of the heads and how each of them is independent of the others, like a number of portraits cut out and fitted together but not really related to one another. The type of the hands is the same. The figures stand in the same balanced fashion upon their well-drawn feet. I suggest that the Sibyl Master may have been Ouwater himself, and I leave the reader to follow out the comparison in detail.

The Sibyl Master, whether Ouwater or not, is a pleasing though not a great artist. He interests us more by his backgrounds than his figures; yet his pictures are satisfactory as integral wholes. The charm of a work of art does not lie in true drawing, or correct perspective, or learned foreshortenings, or any such photographic accuracies, but in the thing as a whole, the balance and rhythm of it, the harmony of its parts, the good pattern, the agreeable complex of forms and colours, which are all independent of the drill-sergeant's proprieties. If an artist has beauty within him and the power to express it, so long as he does express it he may use what means he pleases. Though the Sibyl Master blundered over his parts he succeeded with each whole. He made agreeable pictures, decorative, pleasant to live with and by imagination to wander in. It is noteworthy that he possessed the merits attributed to Ouwater by Van Mander; well-painted heads, extremities, draperies, and landscape. According to Marcantonio Michiel, there were in the house of Cardinal Grimani at Venice in 1521 "molte tavolette de paesi per la maggior parte de mano de Alberto de Olanda." Van Mander says that it was the opinion of the oldest painters (of his day) that it was at Haarlem that the proper way to paint landscape was first adopted. It is a little difficult to interpret this remark in the light of our knowledge of the landscapes of Hubert, but after him Bouts was the chief landscape innovator and he brought his landscape style with him from Holland and only developed it at Louvain. The Sibyl Master's pictures, however, do innovate in that they prolong the landscape into the foreground by painting the figures as actually within gardens. The gardens are not background details, but part of the foreground. Leaving that astonishing genius Hubert van Eyck out of account, the most considerable landscapes before

this time were those of Dutch Bouts: the St. Christopher wing at Munich and the Paradise wing at Lille. In both of these the landscape is piled up by a peculiar convention and the foreground seems to be looked down upon from an elevation. The Sibyl Master brings the eye of the spectator lower and so gives to the foreground greater importance. He was the first artist to paint gardens as though he loved them. Gardens had appeared as unimportant background accessories before this time, but not painted for their own sake.[1]

One of the earliest mediæval gardens into which we can peer, if garden it can be called, is that shown on the Paradise picture of about 1420 by a Rhine painter, which is at Frankfurt. Evidently what we see is some corner of an outer bailey. There is a raised bank against the wall and flowers are growing upon it. Otherwise all the flowers grow out of the grass. A table and fountain complete the furnishings of the place. The wall behind the bank may be replaced by a flower-trained trellis as in another picture at Soleure by the same painter. A much more elaborate trellis-work just rises above the bailey-wall in the de Limbourg miniature which depicts the old Palace on the island in the Seine at Paris. Here is a long pleached alley ending in a treillage dome, and such pleached alleys, close around the outer wall, appear in many other pictures —in Sir Herbert Cook's Virgin with St. Catherine, for instance, and in another of the Calendar miniatures by the de Limbourgs. The Duke of Berry's castles have no gardens, nor do any appear in the Hours of Turin. The only garden in any picture by the Van Eycks is that of the Virgin by a Fountain described in a previous chapter. It is the *Hortus Inclusus* emblematic of the Virgin. We have to come down past the middle of the century before true gardens make their appearance in Netherlands pictures. They are for the most part small rectangular enclosures within the outer yard of a great house or castle. Sir Frank Crisp discovered one or two little bourgeois gardens of which he gives

[1] The best collection of garden backgrounds from pictures is the late Sir Frank Crisp's *Mediæval Gardens* (Guide to Friar Park, Henley-on-Thames). Several gardens were actually remade on these old designs at Friar Park. A short paper on this subject by Prof. E. Küster is published in the *Repertorium*, 1919, pp. 148–158. See also A. Grisebach, *Der Garten* (Leipzig), with many illustrations.

reproductions, but they do not differ in type from those belonging to wealthier folk. The garden seen through the window in the Annunciation, once in the Kann Collection and attributed to Van der Weyden, may be taken as typical. The attribution of the picture to that artist has been contested, and it is worth mention that in no picture universally accepted as by Roger is a garden-view introduced. A similar garden is in the background of a wing picture of two saints attributed to Roger at Berlin, but its authenticity is on a level with that of the Annunciation. If Roger painted them it was in his last years, and he took the idea of the garden backgrounds from Bouts. Campin and Daret are innocent of gardens. So are Geertgen, Hugo van der Goes, Justus, and Albert Bouts. The only picture attributed to Memling which has a garden is the Virgin with St. George, in the National Gallery, and its authenticity is doubtful. But to return to the Annunciation attributed to Roger: we see through a window into a yard surrounded by a high battlemented wall. There is a gateway in the angle with a half-timber storey above the arch, and over it an attic with dormer windows; a round staircase tower is built against the side of this little edifice. Anyone entering through this gate comes at once upon the garden, occupying all the area of the yard except a broad roadway from the gate to the house. A high raised bank, built up of bricks but containing soil like a large wooden window-box, surrounds the enclosure and is broken by openings at the ends of the rectangular paths that subdivide the enclosed area. Grass and, perhaps, some flowers grow on these banks, which seem to have been freely used as seats. Sometimes such a bank, with the two ends returned (like an exedra) and with or without a trellis behind, is made on purpose for a seat and placed in the midst of a flowery sward. The area of the garden is divided into rectangular beds, likewise raised on low brick walls and sometimes also protected by a railing or trellis a few inches high. In the beds are plants or grass with flowers emerging from it. Against the wall we see two little trees in pots. They have been cut and trained into a formal shape—a large circle below, a smaller one above it, and a knob at the top. Here is the beginning of modern topiary work such as the Romans had fashioned in their day.

Sir Frank Crisp reproduced several miniatures with formal trees. In the earliest the branches springing from the top of a standard are trained out at right angles by aid of a sort of light wheel fixed horizontally in place. Perhaps the standard is merely the stem of the wheel, up which the plant is supposed to grow. Then we come across two or even three of these wheel frames one above another. Sometimes the wheel is quite small and the plant, visibly curling up the stick that supports it, grows out of a pot. One amusing miniature reproduced by him shows two churchmen, like the hermits Paul and Anthony, having a jollification in the desert by the kind provision of angels. Truth to tell, they are not eating but drinking. There is not even a fragment of bread to this intolerable deal of sack. They have a large jug on the table and brimming cups in their hands. They are patting one another on the shoulder in perfect contentment, while an angel comes flying up with another jugful and yet another angel is miraculously making more wine for them from the grapes of a conveniently ripening vine close at hand! All this, however, is not to our point, but only the tree under which they sit. That is trained into two circular storeys by aid of two rings to which the branches have been fastened. When the rings had done their work they were removed, as we can observe in many pictures of this period.

The same gate-house and garden as in the Rogeresque Annunciation are again depicted in a triptych with the Last Supper which belongs to the Seminary at Bruges,[1] a work in which the influence of Bouts is visible. Like the Annunciation it may have been painted in Brussels. The same gate-house, if I mistake not, but with the yard-walls differently attached, is in the Madonna in the Carvallo Collection, which Winkler cites as derived from a supposed lost Roger Madonna kissing the Child.[2] Here, however, the garden is different. It occupies the same position relatively to the yard, and is enclosed by a built bank; in the centre of the

[1] Bruges Loan Exhibition, 1902, No. 42, phot. Bruckmann.

[2] The garden in the Dresden drawing after the same picture is different, but quite simple, with raised bank and beds and a shaped tree. The wall behind carries a little roof supported on projecting struts, such as is sometimes used to protect wall fruit—a unique example so far as I know. As all the early versions of the picture are backed by gardens I cannot believe the original to have been by Roger.

enclosure is a fine Gothic fountain and a flowery mead around it, but no square beds. A similar garden, again, is in the background of the Legend of St. Lucia in the Church of St. Jacques at Bruges, the picture from which the Lucia Master has been named.

The Sibyl Master's garden in the Clarke Madonna is more elaborate than these and is not a mere detail seen through a window, but fills the whole foreground of the picture. We find ourselves again in the outer yard of a manor-house. A raised bed is against the wall, others are in the centre of the yard, and there is one of those built-up seats for the Virgin to sit on. This house has a fine portico opening on to the garden and a peacock on the wall. Portico and peacock recur in many such scenes, and swans, too, as here, upon the moat. The raising of the beds was to save them from being walked over by careless folk entering the courtyard and making short cuts. Such garden patches are often surrounded by a paling or low trellis-work. A very elaborate little garden of this kind, occupying only a part of the yard, is seen in a charming Virgin and Child with St. Anne, which is in the Louvre, an anonymous Dutch picture. The saintly personages and four much-puzzled singing angels are within the portico abutting on the garden. Here the beds are more numerous, there are plants and shaped trees in pots placed about, and the whole thing is better tended than usual. The Ursula Master liked to surround his gardens with what appears to be an iron railing with roses trained over it. This railing seems to enclose almost the whole area of the yard, leaving only a roadway between it and the surrounding walls. We see it best in his picture of the enthroned St. Anne in the Kaufmann Collection, the throne being under the portico. It likewise appears in the Madonna which was in Sir Charles Turner's sale (No. 9) and in the portrait in the J. G. Johnson Collection. The most prettily painted of all the little gardens is a miniature in a manuscript of the *Decameron* (Vienna Lib., No. 2617), reproduced by Sir Frank Crisp. It is just an oblong of grass enclosed by one of those built-up banks on which a pretty lady is sitting. Roses are trained over a finely forged iron railing at her back, and the entrance to the enclosure is a narrow Gothic porch, against and over which the flowers grow; but this is Italian work. Thoroughly northern is the garden in one of the Justice pictures



1. ALBERT VAN OUWATER. LAZARUS (*c.* 1465). BERLIN.—p. 201.



2. OUWATER SCHOOL. LAZARUS. MEXICO.—p. 202.



3. THE HAARLEM SIBYL MASTER (*c.* 1475). FRANKFURT. p. 203.



4. DUTCH SCHOOL. LISBON.—pp. 203, 209.

[*To face page* 208.

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painted by Bouts in his last years for Louvain. It is a castle garden this time, walled off from a great park-like enclosure, and there are two adjacent squares, each within its own railing. One contains the flower-garden proper, with small square beds, the like of which, reproduced with all attainable accuracy, you might have seen at Friar Park in Sir Frank Crisp's days. The second square probably enclosed a fountain.

Elaborate gardens—such as one in a French miniature in a British Museum manuscript of the *Romance of the Rose* (Harl. 4425), or better still in the above-mentioned Virgo inter Virgines at Lisbon—were divided up into several squares, each with its low wall or railing. One of these squares contained the rectangular flower beds, another a flowery mead, a third an orchard with a fountain. The fountain might be replaced by a pool, like that into which Narcissus gazes in the same Harleian manuscript. Many gardens contained a pavilion, of the kind called a "Gloriette." In these pavilions we see people having a good time, and there is generally a table covered with a cloth and light refreshments, not excluding jugs of wine. Early sixteenth century miniatures of the Binnink and allied schools contain plenty of gardens of the type we have been considering, but no novelties. The enclosures tend to grow larger; that is all. Even so late as the seventeenth century, examples survive, as, for instance, in the outer bailey of the Castle of Saarbrücken, shown in one of Merian's etchings. It is a fifteenth century garden in all but scale.

It would seem, then, that truthfully depicted garden backgrounds were first introduced by Bouts. At all events, it is the followers of Bouts who first gave them vogue, and the best of them were painted at Haarlem. That town was destined to become, and still in our own day remains, a great horticultural centre. Its fame arose with the introduction of the tulip, but the fact that the cultivation of that blazing bulb was so keenly pursued in the Haarlem district is proof that horticulture had already taken a firm hold upon the well-to-do burghers settled thereabout. In these Haarlem pictures we may trace the first beginnings of the garden development which was to follow, just as the Haarlem School was also the forerunner of the wonderful

painting-schools that were to flourish in Holland in the seventeenth century.[1]

Upward of thirty years ago, I devoted myself to serious study of the woodcut illustrations in books printed in the Netherlands in the fifteenth century. There already existed a list of all the known publications, and I travelled over Europe from library to library till an example of each had passed through my hands and the cuts in it had been examined and catalogued. The result was a volume entitled *Woodcutters of the Netherlands* (Cambridge, 1884), which attracted little attention when it was published. The bulk of the small edition was, I believe, destroyed. Now, when students want it, it is practically unobtainable. It remains the only work on its subject and is not likely to be replaced. The book contains one rather important error due to the youth and inexperience of the author. It groups the cuts under woodcutters according to their style, whereas it ought to have grouped them under designers. The poor little prints seemed to me so rude and amateurish that I could not believe them to have been designed by artists. Many of the simplest may, perhaps, have been designed by the craftsmen who cut them, but the majority, it now seems obvious to me, must have been drawn on the blocks by artists and degraded in the cutting by unskilful engravers. With the passage of time, my memory of the subject has grown dim; I am disinclined to go poring into a number of old books in the library of the British Museum merely to refresh my knowledge of some very feeble works of art. A few of the more important groups of cuts are, however, fairly distinct in my memory, and among them I can easily recall those assembled together as by "the Second Delft Woodcutter." Their peculiar hideousness made them memorable. How I loathed them! Reproductions of a few of them are at hand, and it is now evident enough to me that it was not the designer but the woodcutter who was at fault. If we could see the original drawings they would probably be found quite meritorious. The dates of the first appearances of the blocks

[1] It is worth mention that the earliest known publication on gardens issued in the Netherlands was a poem by Columella, entitled *De Cultura Hortorum*, printed by J. de Breda at Deventer in 1486 or 1487—just the time when gardens were finding their way into the backgrounds of pictures.

lie between 1483 and about 1492, perhaps later. Dr. Friedländer acutely noted that the designer of these cuts worked in the style of an easily identifiable artist, who painted the pictures which have been grouped together by him under the invented name of the "Master of the Virgo inter Virgines," whom we may call the Virgo Master for short. It is almost impossible to resist the conclusion that designer and painter were one and the same individual.[1] No less than sixteen pictures have been assigned with some confidence to him,[2] and to these we must briefly attend.

It is obvious that an artist who was at work at Delft by 1483 cannot have been a pupil of Geertgen van St. Jans, who can scarcely have been born before 1465. Resemblances that may be found between their work are due either to a common medium or to the influence of one of them upon the other. The Virgo Master must have been the senior and must be dealt with first. Whether he went to Haarlem and studied under Ouwater, or where he picked up his education, cannot now be affirmed. An Adoration of the Shepherds, which was in the de Somzée Collection, may be his earliest surviving work and seems to negative the teaching of Ouwater. If other pictures of a local Delft School had been preserved we might have found features of similarity in them. As it is, this picture stands alone with marked peculiarities and some virtues of undiscoverable pedigree. The Child lies in the manger like an image on a tray, and there are many other awkward features, but the Virgin is a sweetly imagined personage, well matched by the man who leans over behind her. Quaintly round-headed and shy shepherd boys kneel in the midst, and a group of thin-necked, jutting-chinned angels hover aloft. The bewildered ox and the astonished ass, with his high human forehead and erected ears, are not for a moment to be forgotten. They are comic to a degree. In fact, the whole picture is comic to us, but evidently without any intention of the artist to make it so. He went to work in all conceivable good faith, and this was the best he could make of the subject. How in the world he came to invent such postures

[1] An equally important or even better artist must have designed the woodcuts characteristic of the press of Bellaert of Haarlem.

[2] See Friedländer's list in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, 1910, part ii, to which a picture in the J. G. Johnson Collection (No. 349) has to be added.

for those elfin roundheads is hard to imagine, but there they are, and we would not have them changed on any account.

This artist was, in fact, a very serious person, with a tragic element in him, as a picture in the Liverpool Gallery shows. It depicts the dead body of Christ borne toward the grave by His friends. We have seen many examples of this subject treated by other Netherlands artists, always with a quantity of accompanying detail—flowers in the grass, trees, a distant town, fields, hills, and what not. Here are neither flowers nor grass nor any amenities, but bare and desolate ground broken into desert lumps, treeless, waterless, lifeless; only a narrow glimpse showing afar off the world of men. It is a place of death, of tombs and solitude, whither only the dead come and whence they that bring them hasten away. The people are almost as strange as the place—folk with hollow cheeks, worn with sorrow. There is nothing of tradition about it all. The artist's own vision has beheld it thus and set it down as best he could. It is strange in such a picture to find so rich a costume as that of Nicodemus, or the jewelled headdresses of the Maries. There is, in fact, a curious mingling here of primitive and decadent. Soon the decadent was to triumph with Engebrechtsen and Jacob van Oostsanen, though not for long. Holland came relatively late into the field. The flowering time of Flemish art was almost over before the Dutch school was firmly established. It had not time to become independent before the decadence of mediæval art set in, so that the second generation of Dutch painters was affected by the failure which was overtaking all the mediæval schools. Primitivism and decadence were here almost simultaneous.

The severity, the abnegation of all extraneous detail, which mark the Liverpool picture also characterize an Annunciation in the Museum at Aix-la-Chapelle. It is happening in a room, we must suppose, but all we are shown is a bed in the background, a rest for the Virgin's prayer-book, and a pot for a flower. The attention must not be withdrawn from the personages engaged. Their draperies, which are very expressive—the Virgin's so straight and reposeful, the angel's in a flutter—tell the artist's tale. All the story is in them, and they suffice. I will not delay over the Crucifixions in the Uffizi and the Glitza Collection (Hamburg)

which this master was made to paint. A demand for ghastly and populous Crucifixions marks the close of the Gothic epoch and the coming of the Renaissance, especially in Germany. They possess none of the old symbolism and dignity, but are mere exhibitions of blackguardism below and frightfulness above. We turn from them to more profitable objects of contemplation. A Magi altar-piece in Salzburg Museum [1] and two Adorations at Berlin—of the Shepherds in the Kaufmann Collection, of the Magi in the Museum—show our artist in his most developed stage. He has overcome many of his early troubles with composition. He is able to draw better and to tell his story no less well. His types have become slenderer; his art remains aloof and a little weird. At no time did he grow to be a great master, but he justified his existence, not alone by leaving a problem for Friedländer to solve, but by painting pictures which it is worth while to preserve for their own sake and the interest we can still take in them after four and a half centuries.[2]

[1] *Onze Kunst*, xi (1909), p. 73, with reproduction. Another Magi triptych in the Fléhite Collection at Amersfoort is in his style; as it was set up in memory of a man who died in 1526 it must be the work of a follower.

[2] An important anonymous Dutch, probably Haarlem, Master working at this time painted about the year 1480 a large and populous picture of the Adoration of the Magi, for some years in the hands of Messrs. Sully, of Bond Street. The picture is brightly coloured after the manner of a stained-glass window. It is of unusual composition, the train of the kings, divided into two parts and filling the background on either side, consisting of horsemen in violent activity. The Virgin, under a sort of emblematic building in the midst, open on all four sides, is of Dutch type, remotely similar to Geertgen's. Elements that recall the early work of Gerard David also obtrude themselves. The artist is a venturesome rather than an able draughtsman, and may easily be recognized by the peculiarly stiff upper lips of almost every one of his faces. It is improbable that so solid and for his place and day so capable a painter should be represented by only one surviving picture, and that of such exceptional dimensions.

CHAPTER XVI

GEERTGEN VAN SINT JANS

Geertgen van Sint Jans is, after Bouts, the most important and most interesting Dutch artist of the fifteenth century. He was born at Leyden and became a pupil of Albert van Ouwater at Haarlem. We know neither the year of his birth nor of his death, but only that he was 28 years old when he died. It is related, perhaps fabled, that Dürer said of him "here was a born painter." Evidently painting came naturally to him like music to a "prodigy." Van Mander is our authority for what is known about his short life. He says that "little Gerard" lived with the knights of St. John at Haarlem, whence he acquired his surname. There he painted a triptych with the Crucifixion in the centre. This and one of the wings perished in the religious troubles, but the other wing, now sliced into two separate panels, front and back, is in the Gallery at Vienna. These pictures are the starting-point for our knowledge of the artist's style; but here it will be more convenient to accept the results arrived at by the consensus of many critics and proceed to the consideration of Geertgen's work as a whole without retracing the steps of pioneers.

Perhaps the earliest of his surviving pictures is a little diptych at Brunswick, with the Virgin, Child, and St. Anne on one wing, a donor and St. Barbara on the other, and saints on the back. The two front subjects form a single picture and ought to show the influence of the young artist's master if that is to be seen in any work of his. What leaps to the eye is the resemblance of the background to the backgrounds of the Sibyl Master. Nothing could be more obvious. From him, then, we should say Geertgen must have learned; and it is recorded that he was Ouwater's pupil. Here, then, is another argument for the identity of Ouwater and the Sibyl Master. It will be remembered that in the Sibyl

picture there is an opening or water-gate to the moat. It is a feature that we find in two paintings by Geertgen. The Sibyl Master is the first to introduce storks. Geertgen also brings them in. The bearded man on the right in the Sibyl picture becomes one of Geertgen's favourite types (*vide* both the Amsterdam pictures); and so we might go on, but the reader can make such comparisons for himself. Friedländer finds a resemblance between the donor-half of the Brunswick diptych and Peter Christus. It is obvious in St. Barbara, yet she is no less like the Virgin in Ouwater's Lazarus; as for the kneeling donor we have none by Ouwater with which to couple him, nor any proof that the Christus influence did not reach Geertgen through Ouwater. How else could it have reached him? There is no suggestion that he ever left Holland. For the work of a youth the diptych is remarkably good—excellent in composition, balance, and the suggestion of space and air, well drawn, with a delightful landscape. The pupil equals the master from the start. Those who accept as Geertgen's the Nativity at Amsterdam (950B) will have to assign it also to this early period.

The Prague triptych comes next, an Adoration of the Magi with donors and their saints on the wings, and another walled garden with raised bank all round, the parent of the sunk gardens which were to perpetuate the mediæval type down to our own day. He that wanders westward in Kensington Gardens will find the like, somewhat more developed. The Magi group does not escape the influence of Van der Weyden, but it is an influence merely of type, indirect and remote. The peopled background is Geertgen's own. There were plenty of peopled backgrounds before, but not like this. The prolific freedom of invention here shown is new. The figures live; they have things to do; they animate the street. Away off is a man on horseback who reminds me of the St. Martin in the J. G. Johnson Collection. That picture has been boldly, but not impossibly, ascribed to little Gerard. Some of the figures in the Prague triptych are very original. Such is the man in the long cloak who turns his back on us. A boy's head, just over the shoulder of the Moorish king, is a new type, with the light upon it and the soft hair. Heads like this are in that entertaining triptych in the National Gallery, which shows a church lit up

internally with a yellow glow. Friedländer has attributed it and a few other less good pictures to the Master of the Morrison triptych, but it is little more than a copy after some lost Geertgen of excellent quality. The two women walking in the wood in the background of the left wing are a reminiscence of the Sibyl Master's Madonna. Another woman of the kind is in the courtyard in a curious picture attributed to the early Leyden School in Amsterdam Museum (43A).

A strange picture by Geertgen at Amsterdam is that in which all the kinsfolk of the Virgin are brought together within the nave of a church, the children squatting on the floor or reaching out to one another from their mothers' laps, while in the background before the choir-screen groups of men talk together and a youthful servitor is lighting the candles high above the altar. The altar itself, too, is peculiar, for there is a group of sculpture actually on it—Abraham about to slay Isaac--and these coloured wooden figures are as real as the living personages, differing only from them in scale. The slender marble columns and carved capitals obviously came from Ouwater, and so does that love of landscape which caused the painter to introduce and open a pair of most unlikely doors at the east end of the north aisle, so that grass and trees might be seen. There is no effect of interior illumination any more than in Ouwater's Lazarus ; a studio light reveals the figures. The types are now all definitely Geertgen's own, those that he was to adhere to for the rest of his few days—quaint people of puritanical aspect, like " pensive nuns, devout and pure, sober, steadfast, and demure " ; but the children have a new and more solid humanity than those found in Brussels or Bruges—sturdy little ruffians with eager movements and stodgy, expressionless faces. The nameless Westphalian who painted a group of the same Holy Kindred, which forms the centre of a triptych in the Wiesen Church at Soest, must have had this picture in mind and may have learned his art from Geertgen.

Another Adoration of the Magi, at Amsterdam, shows our artist's rapid growth in grace—an easier composition, a more assured touch, but the eyes still staring after the fashion caught from Ouwater. A perfectly beautiful bit of nature illuminates the foreground of the landscape. It is a reed-margined pool of still water, with flags in blossom, and a crane on a tiny island. The

skill of touch, the sense of beauty, not merely in the thing but in the rendering of the thing, the admirable arrangement of unadvertised detail—all these merits were Geertgen's own contribution to the art of his day, not the result of any master's teaching.

We thus come in orderly sequence to what is perhaps Geertgen's most attractive work, the St. John Baptist, not so much in a wilderness as in a park. The picture slipped through Christie's for a trifle on Ascot Cup day and a few years later was snapped up by the alert director of the Berlin Museum. It is not the pensive Saint who pleases us, though he is well enough ; still less is it his very formal and very primitive lamb, apparently stuffed as well as nimbed ; but it is the beautiful wide-spreading landscape that holds our attention, its glades and trees, and the sunlit towers of a castle peeping up in the distance. The trees are painted with a novel and picturesque touch which is in itself both decorative and suggestive of natural form and only appears in this instance. Such park-like vistas as here we behold were not, however, entirely novel. Something of the same kind had been depicted by Bouts in his Paradise at Lille and by Van der Goes in the Fall at Vienna. Memling at about this same time was introducing park-like landscapes behind some of his portraits, and notably as background to his Virgo inter Virgines in the Louvre, a feature imitated by an unidentified follower in the picture of the same subject which is in Buckingham Palace. Geertgen can hardly have seen any of these works, though he may have heard of the Bouts from one of that painter's Dutch pupils. Probably this landscape is altogether his own idea, but we must remember that, according to Van Mander, Ouwater was famed for important innovations in landscape painting, and Geertgen's indebtedness to him on that score can only be guessed. At all events, here we have a remarkable and extended landscape which surpasses all of those above-mentioned and foretells Patinir and others who were to come. It does not lack for detail : flowers, birds (a wagtail, a crane, and others), rabbits, deer, a little brook, a pond, and beyond the nearer trees a blue distance and hills in three grades of tone with the white and light-blue sky over all. Mediæval traditions linger in the mounded earth, but the general effect of the whole must in its day have been ultra-modern.

The Resurrection of Lazarus in the Louvre and the two Vienna panels must be accounted among the latest works of the young master. They show a wonderful maturity when considered as the output of a youth in his twenties. How much better he tells his tale than Ouwater! Compare Peter here, bending forward astonished and almost incredulous, with the second-rate showman in Albert's painting at Berlin. There is just a reminiscence of that work in the two Maries, for instance, and the group of Jews. Look at the brocaded individual with his hand behind him who turns his back on us. The fat-faced Pharisee on the left is a novel type; I have sometimes wondered whether Andrea Solario saw him and took note. A dimly surviving memory of the Sibyl Master lingers in the background, but how little this youth owes to anyone compared with the great flood of original power that welled up within himself! The portrait of the donor is as fine as any Van der Goes could have painted, a dignified and able personage, contrasting strangely with the cowering little female on the opposite side, who seems to wish she had never been born.

John the Baptist reappears on one of the Vienna panels, but in the form of bones which the Emperor Julian the Apostate is causing to be burnt. The picture is rather a chaos of people and incidents arbitrarily divided from one another by such unnatural humps and lumps of ground and rocks as Memling was to use for a like ill purpose. But we forget the weakness in presence of the group of portraits of the Knights of St. John at Haarlem, among whom Geertgen lived and for whom he painted the altar-piece. Friedländer puts the date of it to about 1493. If that is accepted, Ouwater to be his master must have lived on to the eighties of the fifteenth century, which is not impossible, even if he was born as early as 1420. But to return to the portraits. Observe the grave individual who stands in front, gesturing with the horizontal left hand. The same gesture is characteristic of a portrait in the J. G. Johnson Collection, which is dated 1489, and preserves the likeness of Peter Veenlant, "Consul Schiedamensis." The rendering of the face is entirely in accord with the attribution of this fine portrait to Geertgen. That he was already feeling his way toward the more vivid and dramatic style, which the next generation of Dutch painters was to carry to exaggeration, is

demonstrated by the group of Julian and his courtiers. That was a road which Geertgen travelled safely, as did Lucas van Leyden. The two geniuses almost touch one another at this point.

More successful as a pictorial whole is the other side of the wing, where the dead Christ is being mourned by His friends. It was a subject which at that time almost every painter had to treat for some patron or other, but none of little Gerard's predecessors or contemporaries attained his measure of success. Here the pathos of the scene is felt and transmitted. Roger counts for something in the composition. There is his Magdalen wringing her hands, but how much more credibly here! All howling and hysterics are banished, but a deep feeling is expressed and each displays it according to his kind. Moreover, the figures are put together with a skill that completely hides itself, so naturally do they occupy their places. The pyramidal group in the centre with the upright supports on either hand did not come by chance.

A word must be said about the Nativity in the Kaufmann Collection, which astonishes by the emphasis of its chiaroscuro. Earlier attempts had been made, even as far back as by the de Limbourgs, to paint night. Bouts, as we saw, made an experiment. But here is real darkness, cloven by the miraculous light that strikes upward from the Child, illuminates the Virgin and the angels, and even dimly reveals the face of poor Joseph in the corner.[1] It is not exactly done as Rembrandt would have done it, but the problem which Rembrandt solved is here posed, and, knowing what we do, we can see that Geertgen not only posed it but made a long stride toward the solution. As to other pictures attributed to our artist, a bare mention of some must suffice. There is a half-length Madonna in the Hollitscher Collection, another in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and a powerfully tragic Man of Sorrows at Utrecht—a painful but wonderful picture. We must also remember the view of St. Bavon's at Haarlem, a painting mentioned by Van Mander; if, as generally supposed, it is the picture now in that very church, it is a formal architectural perspective. Similar pictures of St. Lawrence's at Alkmaar and St. Peter's at Leyden are known, but they make no claim to a distinguished parentage.

[1] This effect was imitated by Jan Joest, Mabuse, and Barthel Bruyn.

The number of Geertgen's followers was considerable, far greater than can possibly have been the number of pupils of an artist who died at the age of 28. Among those whom he influenced were Jacob Cornelis van Oostsanen, Jan Mostaert, Jan Joest of Calcar, and Gerard David.

A few words will suffice to dismiss an anonymous follower of Geertgen who is known by the more than ordinarily awkward name "the Amsterdam Lucia Master." It would save a lot of annoyance if these nameless folk could be provisionally christened Jones, Meyer, or the like, till their true names are discovered; but scientific students all the world over are incredibly bad at naming anything, whether it be a flower, a bug, or a mountain. Look at the names on the map of a newly explored region! Only the ignorant can name nowadays. This Lucia person—who must not be confused with another Bruges-Lucia-Master—was a very poor painter. Any merit to be found in his pictures comes straight from his master. Beside the panel in the Amsterdam Gallery, from which he draws his lumbering designation, he is also endowed with a Crucifixion in the Archiepiscopal Museum at Utrecht and a Descent from the Cross in the Figdor Collection at Vienna, all uninteresting.

By a different, far better painter is a picture at Dresden, which shows the interior of a delightful Gothic room. It has the nicest kind of a tiled floor, and it is divided into two bays, one groined, the other floored overhead with beams. There is a hooded fireplace and three sorts of windows with armorial glass, and though the furniture is sparse what there is would gladden a collector's heart. I should choose the bench with the linen-fold back on which the Virgin sits, and I should expect the brocaded cloth over its back to be thrown in. The reader may have St. Anne's armchair. Both of them will be nicer to look at than to sit on, but every modern house contains enough seats of which the reverse is true. The room is full of light, and the picture as a whole is charming. The light enters through the windows and fades in the shadowed corners. It is not a mere studio light enveloping a group, afterwards framed or backed by the structure of a church or chamber. That was the best that Ouwater and even Geertgen could make of such a subject. This artist, therefore, was not a mere follower,



1. THE VIRGO MASTER OF DELFT. NATIVITY. p. 211.



2. THE VIRGO MASTER. ENTOMBMENT. LIVERPOOL.—p. 212.



3. GEERTGEN VAN SINT JANS. THE VIRGIN'S KINDRED. AMSTERDAM.—p. 216.



4. DUTCH SCHOOL. HOLY FAMILY. DRESDEN. p. 220.

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but an innovator, a painter of some importance. From his hand came also two half-length groups of the Virgin and Child with St. Anne, one in Utrecht Museum, the other sold in the Stein auction in 1899 and later in the Michel van Gelder Collection. Both paintings are thought to show the influence of the Delft Virgo Master. They are admirable works in their simple fashion, and fully confirm the favourable impression made by the Dresden panel. Let us hope that more pictures by this important artist may hereafter be identified.

Another excellent painting of the primitive Dutch School is in that assemblage of interesting works, the J. G. Johnson Collection, one of the few American galleries gathered on the principle of buying good pictures without regard to names. On the panel in question is painted a representation of John the Baptist pointing out Christ to his disciples. The landscape and the feeling show indebtedness to Geertgen, and here again it seems that other pictures by this same painter must be forthcoming. He should easily be recognizable by the sharply pointed, naked feet of his men. One could prick oneself on their great toes !

A seated Virgin in Berlin Museum, with a kneeling ecclesiastic before her presented by St. Michael, was exhibited at Utrecht Exhibition (No. 176) in 1913. It is a picture possessing many agreeable qualities, the St. Michael being of original type and unconventionally introduced. Cohen says that its nameless painter was also the author of a triptych with an enthroned Virgin at Antwerp (Nos. 561–3) with St. Christopher and St. George on the wings, and of an Assumption in the Provincial Museum at Bonn.[1] But enough about these nameless craftsmen. Famous artists summon our attention elsewhere.[2]

[1] Cohen in *Zeits. f. b. Kunst*, 1913–14, part ii.

[2] Other works more or less close to Geertgen are :—
Descent from the Cross, Munich, Nos. 84–5.
Crucifixion, Modena, No. 33.
Crucifixion, Cologne Museum.
Ecce Homo, a pen-drawing in Berlin K.F.M.
St. James, Emden Sale (Berlin, 1910).
Betrayal and Entombment, wings in the Collection of Comte de Valencia de San Juan, in the Museo Archeologico, Madrid.

CHAPTER XVII

HANS MEMLING

THE Duke of Devonshire's triptych, painted for Sir John Donne about 1468, is the earliest identified picture by Memling that can be dated. It is the work of a mature artist. In the background of the dexter wing is the painter's own portrait. He is a man about 33 years of age. Painting and portrait are in agreement. The beginnings of the artist must lie behind this mature work. We may thus conclude that he was born about 1430–35, and that he was approximately the contemporary of Justus of Ghent and Hugo van der Goes. The form of his Christian name, Hans, proves him to have been a German. Had he been a Fleming his name would have been Jan. An entry in the diary of a Bruges notary confirms this conclusion. "Oriendus erat Magunciaco," it says. He was, in fact, born in the principality of Mayence. Mömlingen in that diocese may have been the place from which he took his name. He must have come early to the Netherlands, for there is no trace of the Germanic style in his art. He and John van Eyck are the typical Flemish painters. When we speak of Flemish art it is of the work of those two men we first think, though neither of them was a Fleming by birth. They stand for the Flemish, just as Bouts and his followers for the Dutch, or Campin and Roger for the Walloons. It is not therefore possible to put Memling's arrival in the Netherlands later than about his twentieth year, say in 1455. He may have arrived younger, but there is no record of him in Bruges or anywhere else before 1467, so we have to guess what he may have been doing in those twelve years or more, where was he studying, and what master taught him his craft. A veil hides his beginnings as completely as those of Justus and Hugo. Internal evidence alone can decide. Vasari and Guicciardini, indeed, tell us that he was a pupil of Roger van der Weyden, but their authority

is too remote to be valuable in face of the fact that Memling's pictures show no such intimate relation to Roger's art as a long pupilage would be likely to effect. Memling was influenced by the work of Roger, perhaps by contact with him, but can hardly have been his apprenticed pupil. He was likewise strongly influenced by Bouts, but neither can Bouts have been his master. We know the work of several followers of Bouts. The seal of the master is indelibly set on them. Memling received no such stamp.

There comes a moment in the growth of every style of art when the school or group of artists who adopt and practise it definitely emerges. Before that emergence we meet with a succession of individuals—men of marked and original power, such as the Van Eycks or Campin—who, in the endeavour to express themselves, discover and manifest the principles of form and the artistic ideals which, after them, become the common heritage and property of a whole group of their successors. Thus far we have been for the most part concerned with the work and character of such original, such road-making, artists. But most of the young painters who began their active career after the middle of the fifteenth century lack the individualism of their predecessors. They express the ideal of a school in the forms and methods invented and perfected by the Van Eycks, Campin, Roger, and Bouts. The trace of those leaders may be observed simultaneously in their work. Moreover, the formed Netherlandish style reigned not only over the artists of Flanders and Brabant, but over those also of the neighbouring provinces, including an area within the modern French frontier.

Let us turn aside for a moment to examine a set of pictures, illustrative of the legend of St. Bertin, which may throw some light on this portion of our subject. They decorate the shutters which once enclosed the shrine of the Saint in his abbey at St. Omer. The shrine was made between 1453 and 1459 at Valenciennes to the order of Abbot William Fillastre, perhaps by the goldsmith-brothers Stechlin. The silver-work disappeared in the French Revolution, but the panels of the shutters may still be seen in the Berlin Museum and the National Gallery. They are so beautifully painted that Rubens declared he would willingly pay for them as many gold ducats as it would take to cover them The several incidents of the Saint's legend are divided from one another by

architectural openings showing various interiors—a method of division afterwards employed by Memling. The incidents are monastic events happening within a convent, so that figures of monks predominate, all very meek and humble persons. One of them resembles Van Eyck's portrait of the Esquire of the Order of St. Anthony at Berlin. The convent expression marks the faces of even the few laymen in the piece. A cloistered atmosphere is all-pervading. The landscape is as gentle and suave as the men, though there is little room for landscape distances or background incidents. A builder or two at work, an individual seated outside a castle's gate, a ferry-boat on a calm river, and some tiny dots of men very far away are all we can see, the peace of the later afternoon being upon them also and on the waters and the slender pines and in the clear sky. Though the sun must be shining it casts no strong shadows; nothing is strong or bold, everything tender and peaceful. An interesting feature round the cloister is the wall-painting of the Dance of Death, of which we catch two glimpses. It resembles in design that whereof the restored wreck may be seen at St. Mary's, Lubeck. Young lay-folks are walking or sitting comfortably beneath the picture, untroubled by its threatenings. In this work there is little definite trace of the influence of any of the masters we have studied, but the atmosphere is that which we shall presently find in Memling's pictures, though the forms are not his. It has been assumed that the painter of these panels must have been Simon Marmion of Valenciennes, who was born and apparently educated at Amiens, where he is last heard of in 1454. He is next mentioned in 1458, when we find him in comfortable circumstances at Valenciennes, *ergo* he must have had a good commission such as these paintings. The trouble is that, though Marmion is often mentioned and praised as a miniaturist; there is no record of his ever painting a picture. He was certainly the head of a prosperous miniaturist's atelier, and several costly manuscripts are attributed to him and his assistants.[1] One, at any rate, of these manuscripts was decorated for the same patron who paid for the shrine, but though some resemblance can be traced

[1] See Reinach in *Gaz. Beaux-Arts*, 1903, i, p. 264; *Monuments et Mémoires Piot*, 1904; Winkler in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, 1913, pp. 251 ff.; Hénault in *Revue Archéol.*, 1907, p. 119, and 1908, p. 108; L. de Fourcaud in *Rev. de l'art anc. et mod.*, 1907, p. 321.

between the miniatures and the above-mentioned paintings it is not of a sufficiently conclusive quality to assure the attribution of pictures and miniatures to the same hand.

Attempts have, of course, been made to group with the St. Bertin series other paintings, more or less resembling them in style. Thus there is in the Louvre a picture of the finding and identification of the True Cross, which has been called a late work by Marmion. To him also is given a Crucifixion from St. Bertin's now in the J. G. Johnson Collection (No. 318), and another in the Corsini Gallery (No. 756). A Christ before Herod also in the Johnson Collection (No. 763) is thought to belong to the same group, to which Friedländer adds a Mater Dolorosa and a Man of Sorrows, both at Strasburg. I do not feel the force of any of these attributions. Nor do I think that an interesting picture at Chantilly is in better case. It depicts Charles the Rash and other courtiers carrying into the Church of Bouvignes the châsse of St. Perpetua after it had been saved from the sack and destruction of Dinant in 1466—a piece of "frightfulness" which stains the memory of the prince for all time.

Whoever painted the St. Bertin panels can hardly have been entirely educated at Amiens in the years around 1450. No known pictures of 1450 or thereabout from the North of France can be classed with it. It was only in or near Flanders that the painting method of the Van Eycks could then have been as thoroughly acquired as it was by this master. True, he shows no trace of the influence of Roger or of Bouts, but that proves nothing. There were other centres of art in the South Netherlands of which we are in almost complete ignorance. Valenciennes more probably taught him than Amiens.

A similar but more refined and more spontaneous spiritual emotion pervades three small pictures, illustrative of saints' legends, all painted by one unidentified artist. Some have thought him to be of Bruges, but his home is more likely to have been on the soil of what is now France. He must have been working in the years surrounding 1460, but even as to his date there are differences of opinion. His most delightful picture is a panel belonging to Baron Béthune (Alost), on which is painted a white-robed saint, walking barefoot through a desert or wintry region along a strip of pretty carpet

and with a bunch of roses in his hand. He is such a charming person, so simple in pose and sweet in expression, and heaven only knows whither he is going or what it is all about. There are leafless trees here and there, and piled unreal rocks, and a great Romanesque church away in the background. It is all white and grey, except for the carpet and the roses and the clear sky. They call it St. Bruno retiring to the Chartreuse, but the subject is quite immaterial. The picture has an artistic existence of its own, and is a thing essentially beautiful, which renders us careless as to whom or what it is intended to depict. It exists as a vision, concrete, self-contained, self-sufficing. To the same painter are attributed two less perfect but very enjoyable works, both likewise quite small. One is in the Brussels Gallery (No. 35), the other in the Van de Walle Collection.[1] In both we see a preacher addressing a small congregation. Somewhat of the same quiet charm lingers in them as in the St. Bruno, but the artist shows a singular competence in dealing with the expressions of the onlookers, who are all visibly though quietly affected by what they hear. The work looks perfectly simple and easy; no elaboration of detail, no astonishing aspect of finish to make a spectator put up a lens, but an admirable competence throughout, and an instinct for the unity and decorative harmony of the whole. Was he a Flemish painter? I think not.

In connexion with the origins of Memling, another word may be said about the Chantilly diptych of Jeanne de Bourbon. It is not by the St. Bertin artist, nor of his school, but it seems to be pervaded by a similar atmosphere in so far as the dissimilarity of subject permits. It was probably painted within the modern French border, by an artist in whom the traditions of Campin and Roger were alive, but there is in it an element derived from neither of these masters, which finds expression in the charming angel supporting the shield. If we knew where, in or soon after the year 1460, that angel was painted, we should know where to look for the studio from which Memling emerged.

Yet another picture of about the same date, 1459–62, cannot be neglected when we are discussing the origins of Memling. It is the Sforza triptych in the Brussels Gallery, which came from the Zambeccari Collection at Bologna, and has been already referred to in

[1] Bruges Exhibition (1902), No. 344.

connexion with Roger van der Weyden and the Lombard painter Zanetto Bugatto. The date of the central panel is fixed at about 1460–2 by the apparent ages of Francesco Maria Sforza, Bianca Visconti, and their son Galeazzo Maria, whose portraits appear upon it. The central panel and the wings are by different hands, but painted at approximately the same time, as we judge from the likeness of Duke Philip the Good, which is on the left wing. The centre-piece was obviously done in the studio of Roger or by a pupil deeply imbued with his style. The wings appear to be by Memling. It used to be generally accepted that they must have been painted by him when, as the authorities above cited assert, he was working under Roger. If the Virgin of the Nativity on the left wing and angels near her resemble others repeated over and over again in Memling's later pictures, the type of the two female saints opposite shows a strong Roger influence. The John Baptist standing behind them descends from Campin, through Roger, and in Memling's hands will presently be transformed into the type to which he gave vogue—a type repeated in a seventeenth century etching by J. van Oost, falsely inscribed as the portrait of Memling by himself. Obviously a man of the aspect of this Saint could not be the painter of such pictures as Memling's.[1]

I am thus led to conclude that Guicciardini's information is substantially correct, and that Memling did work under Roger for a longer or shorter period. Roger's late pictures, the Middelburg and Columba altar-pieces, are those most evidently echoed in Memling's work, so that it was probably while they were being painted that the young German artist had access to Roger's studio. Even if this be granted we are still without explanation of the origin of Memling's style, for though it is influenced by Roger it is not borrowed from him. The suspicion lurks in my mind that Memling may have studied first and longest in some centre of art such as Valenciennes, in the French Netherlands, where the solid foundation of his style was laid, and that it was only as a formed artist that he felt the influences of Roger, and presently of Bouts also.

The great Last Judgment altar-piece in St. Mary's Church at

[1] The inventory of Margaret of Austria's pictures, made in 1524, describes a triptych of which the central panel was by Roger, the wings by Memling. *Revue archéol.*, 1850, p. 60.

Dantzig is to be numbered among the puzzling pictures of the Flemish School. Original documents which tell so much about it are obstinately silent as to the painter's name. We know that it was ordered by Angelo di Jacopo Tani, the representative of the Medici in Bruges, and his wife Catarina Tanagli. The work was finished in 1472, and was destined for Florence, but the ship that carried it was illegally made prize of war by Dantzig vessels, so that the altar-piece never reached its destination, but was set up in the church of their city, where it remains till this day. The painted area, including both faces of the wings, is about 72 square feet. Weale has counted the number of figures depicted, and they are upwards of 150, mostly nudes. It must have taken many years to design and paint so extensive a work—ten or twelve, says Weale, but surely it might have been done in six. Bouts took four years over his Last Supper triptych, but this is bigger and more elaborate. It may therefore have been begun shortly before 1467, the year in which Memling is first mentioned at Bruges. To him it is commonly ascribed, but many good critics have doubted his authorship.

The composition follows traditional lines. Christ is seated aloft on a rainbow, accompanied by the Virgin, John Baptist, the Apostles, and trumpeting angels. On the ground beneath Him stands armour-clad St. Michael weighing souls. The dead are rising from the earth and being drafted off to right and left toward Heaven on the dexter wing or Hell on the sinister. The donors and their saints (like statues in niches) are depicted on the backs of the wings. Some of the blessed are likely to be portraits of members of the Italian colony in Bruges, the lineaments of Thomas Portinari, for instance, being recognizable in the figure in the mounting scale. A gravestone is said to bear the date 1467, the year in which Angelo Tani made his will, though his actual death is not recorded, and about when Memling came to Bruges and apparently began his independent career. We are dimly reminded of the Last Judgment painted by Stephan Lochner at Cologne some years earlier, especially in the architecture of the Gate of Heaven, with its sculptured lunette, its pediment, and the angels in the gallery above it. This can hardly be a chance resemblance. Still more close, however, is the connexion with Roger's Beaune altar-piece, notably in the figures of Christ and the Virgin, where direct imitation is undeni-

able. The Hell in the Louvre, which we considered when dealing with Bouts, must also be remembered. A figure on the Dantzig wing with arms clasped and upraised finds a close parallel in the panel attributed to Bouts ; the latter, however, may be the later in date. Notwithstanding all these resemblances Tani's altar-piece stands out as the work of a painter who was an independent and creative artist, apparently influenced by both Roger and Bouts, but not under the direction of either. Many figures and heads call up the name of Memling. The white-robed angel behind St. Michael's right hand seems to be " Memling all over " ; the resemblances to his work among the apostles, the angels, and the blessed are numerous ; and yet we hesitate. There are also trifling details of similarity, such as the painting of the broken ground at the foot of the Paradise wing, and other such tell-tale minutiæ. It may be hard to arrive at a certain decision, but those who claim that Memling painted this altar-piece before his style was finally formed can back their contention with strong arguments. How so important a commission came to be given to so young a man, what he had previously produced to authenticate his powers—these and the like obscurities remain for future historians to clear up if they can.

We may now proceed to consider the main portion of Memling's career on which his accepted pictures throw all needful light. A volume in the " Classics of Art " contains an ugly but useful series of reproductions of them all. Henceforward, from about 1466 till his death in 1494, he resided and worked at Bruges, the commencement of his activity there and that of Hugo van der Goes at Ghent being about simultaneous. It is remarkable that Memling's name does not appear in any guild-register that has been preserved. It has been suggested that he was in the Duke of Burgundy's service, for only painters thus retained could exercise their art in a city without belonging to the guild. In 1467 Philip the Good died, Charles the Rash succeeded to the Dukedom of Burgundy, and Memling's career at Bruges began. Next year Charles was married to Margaret of York, and a number of English courtiers attended the wedding. Sir John Donne of Kidwelly and his wife were of the number, and he embraced the opportunity to order the picture now at Chatsworth with portraits of himself, his wife, and a daughter

kneeling before the enthroned Virgin. The Knight, who died in 1469, wears the collar of the Yorkist Order of the Rose and Sun, conferred on him by Edward IV. In this picture the whole art of Memling is enshrined. He gives us here practically all that he had to give. There is nothing more rare, more novel, or more profound in any of his later works, and for this reason, because his art is wholly conventional. Subject and treatment alike are the outcome of conventions which successive generations of artists and churchmen had elaborated. Take the subject first: it is not an event that ever happened, or could have happened, but a symbolical assemblage of emblematic figures, the meaning and intention of which were clearly understood by everybody because the convention was as much common knowledge as are the letters of the alphabet. The Virgin and Child were repeated from earlier models. The Genoese velvet dorser, the Anatolian rug, the columned portico, the undulating riverine landscape background, the swans on the water and the peacock on the wall—every one of these features belonged to the stock-in-trade of the school. So did the saints with their standard attributes and the tiled floor, intended to help with the perspective illusion. Moreover, the perspective itself and the modelling, the figure-drawing, the chiaroscuro and every other technical detail, were adapted to the painting of this sort of picture. The complete science of perspective had not yet been discovered, but enough to fulfil the needs of this conventional art. When Memling was asked for figures in violent action or high passion, he failed with them. He and his contemporaries only knew as much as was necessary for the kind of pictures at that time in general demand. Compare such a painting as this with the Ghent altar-piece of the Van Eycks; the difference is obvious. There almost everything is novel, it is all the invention of the artist. Neither the subject nor the treatment is traditional. No fully equipped school stands behind the craftsman. But behind Memling are two generations of artists, striving, inventing, improving technique, succeeding or failing with their experiments. Memling inherited the results of their labours. His hand is to no small degree guided by their brains. He is the best, the most refined, the most complete exponent of the school. Every picture of his that has merit is essentially a school picture. This is why any single picture by Memling is delightful,

but a collection of several is monotonous. It would be pleasant to have a single Memling in one's house, but boring to be compelled to live with many. The same Virgin, the same mild saints, the same angels, the same expressions on the countenances of donors, the same postures and gestures, the same kind of landscape, the same endless afternoon light—it is all charming enough for once, but does not gain by repetition. Memling was the Perugino of the North.

Far be it from me, therefore, to invite the reader to inspect the succession of all Memling's known pictures one by one. Any good example of the artist's work suffices, though of course there are degrees of charm between one and another. His most extensive work was the large triptych painted to adorn the high altar of the chapel of the Hospital of St. John at Bruges. The two St. Johns stand beside the enthroned Virgin on the centre panel, and the two wings are devoted to them, while on the exterior are portraits of the four donors with their saints. Weale shows sufficient reason for concluding that the picture was ordered in or before 1475. It was finished in 1479. There is a touch of human interest in the background, where (again citing Weale) is a view of the Bruges town-crane in Flemish Street, with Brother Jodoc Williams, master of the hospital, superintending the wine-gauging. "The house in course of construction to the left at the corner of the Coornblomme Street is that named Dinant, and the little Romanesque church in the distance is that of St. John, demolished at the end of the eighteenth century."

The limitations of Memling's powers are easily perceived by comparing the pictures on the wings with the centre-piece. The latter is a group of Madonna and saints, typical figures constructed according to rule. It is therefore charming, though not improved by its large scale. The wing pictures—the Baptist's martyrdom and the Evangelist's Vision—lack every dramatic element, and though the parts are well enough, each whole lacks both unity and force. The Apocalyptic incidents are merely diagrammatic. More delightful to my thinking is the small replica of the central panel which belonged to Sir Joshua Reynolds and is now in the New York Museum. It was painted for another donor, who kneels behind St. Catherine.

The most satisfying of Memling's triptychs is the Floreins altar-piece, likewise in St. John's Hospital. It is on a small scale, and finely finished. Even the outsides of the wings, usually so dull, are beautiful. They show the Baptist and St. Veronica, each seated on the ground in a beautiful landscape and framed within a sculptured arch. In these sculptured arches, and in the subjects within them, the influence of Roger is more plainly apparent than in any other picture by Memling. He has had the St. Columba triptych in mind, and has freely borrowed from it both for the Adoration of the Magi and the Presentation in the Temple, but in borrowing he has refined, simplified, and perfected the composition. The Nativity on the other wing is no less obviously borrowed from the central panel of Roger's Middelburg altar-piece, and is likewise improved in the borrowing.[1] Here, in fact, the conventional treatment of these religious subjects reaches perfection. Design and treatment are in complete harmony. Excellent composition, delightful finish, charming figures, and a sweet spirit are united or expressed. This kind of art could no further go. After it there was nothing to expect save repetition, decadence, and then something new, something altogether different. A realized ideal is like a flower that has fully blossomed. It must fade.

Memling painted two pictures peculiar for the multitude of incidents they try to unite on a single panel. They are the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin at Turin and the so-called Seven Joys at Munich. The former was finished in 1478, the latter is dated 1480. Mr. Weale appears to me to have proved [2] that the Turin picture was painted for Memling's friend William Vrelant the miniaturist, and by him presented to the Booksellers' Guild of Bruges. It depicts the principal incidents of the Passion from the Entry into Jerusalem at one corner to Christ on the road to Emmaus at the other. Most of the area is occupied by a chaotic assemblage of buildings (for Jerusalem) with all sorts of archways, openings, and courtyards contrived, each to contain some incident. The method of isolation

[1] An earlier and more independent version by Memling is at Copenhagen (phot. Braun, 44253), another in the Clemens Collection at Munich, Bruges Exhibition (1902), No. 80.

[2] *Burlington Mag.*, Feb. 1908, p. 309. German critics for the most part hold that this is the picture of the Passion which Vasari records as having been painted by Memling for Thomas Portinari. A comparison of the donor's portraits here with those of Portinari and his wife shows this to be impossible. They are totally different people.

is, in fact, that employed in the St. Bertin altar-piece. Probably such a painting would be appreciated by a miniaturist. Individual scenes are often both beautifully and skilfully rendered, but the effect of the whole is chaotic. This did not prevent Peter Bultync from ordering a similarly constructed picture for presentation to the guild of the Tanners. Here Jerusalem is pushed further back, and humps of earth or rock are employed to divide the open-air subjects. Events connected with the Journey and Adoration of the Magi occupy most of the space. We see the Wise Men afar off, each on the top of a separate mountain beholding the star. We can observe their three caravans meeting and proceeding together to visit Herod. The Massacre of the Innocents follows, and then the Adoration of the Magi, which is the principal event, in the foreground. After it the Kings hurry away. They embark on three ships, the first of them already growing very small in the distance. To left and right are other incidents in the life of the Virgin: the Annunciation and Nativity on one side and post-Resurrection events on the other, with the Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin in the furthest corner. Passion subjects were unsuited to Memling's genius, but happier scenes are entirely in his line. Nothing could be more delightful in its kind than the apparition of the angel to the shepherds. The story of the Kings' journey, for all its patching about, is delightfully told, and the picture as a whole is full of interest One can stand close to it and wander about in it in imagination with pleasure. But the whole lacks unity and produces no integral effect. As an altar-piece it must have been singularly ineffective. If each subject had been painted separately on a panel to itself and the series framed together in suitable assemblage the result would have been better. That was how Memling's pictures of the Ursula legend had to be dealt with, for they were made to adorn the shrine of the Saint, and, according to the fashion of the day, it had to be constructed like a little building with arcaded walls and gabled ends.

The shrine has long ago taken an accepted place among the most generally admired works of fifteenth century painting, so that I need waste no words in praising it. The artist treats the incidents of the legend as a fairy-tale, which must always be told as though there could be no possible doubt of the truth of every word. The eleven thousand virgins of English noble birth, all bareheaded

and clothed in the rich costumes of the fifteenth century Burgundian court, go sailing up the Rhine, tightly packed together in little boats. There is something of Flemish literalness in it all, and yet it is a literalness of a fanciful kind. Each scene looks like a picnic. There is the real Cologne in the background, the ship (a real ship) at the quay, and twelve young ladies landing on the shore. But for the presence of an angel in the background we should not have supposed that anything miraculous was intended. It is in the sudden changes, the surprising succession of events, that the fairy element comes in, just as in any other fairy-tale where the fascination lies in rapid mutations of scene and circumstance by supernatural agency, though each individual incident, taken alone, may be perfectly natural and ordinary. Princesses and milkmaids are common enough mortals, but the sudden elevation of a milkmaid to be a princess, the sudden transformation of surroundings and attire, is the surprising work of the fairies, and the charm of the tale lies in the surprise. Even so is it with Memling's pictured tale. In one panel you see the pretty company landing at Basle, and without a moment's pause starting off one after another along the road to Rome, each so wrapped up in her own thoughts that no two walk together side by side. They step along daintily with the skirts of their dresses held carefully up. Then comes the magic transformation. In the next panel the four or five hundred miles of journey, with its Alpine fastnesses, its forests, and its dangers of every kind, have been safely accomplished without fatigue, and we find ourselves in Rome, watching the arrival of the un-travel-stained company. Along the level country road, in through the gate, and up the street of the city they come to the portal of a church, where Pope and Cardinals are assembled to receive them, while at the same moment Prince Conon, Ursula's betrothed, likewise arrives with his knights, and all joyfully receive baptism at the hands of the priests. We do not see them again until the time of their departure from Basle in company with Pope, bishops, and cardinals on their return journey. The picture is of exceeding beauty—the little ship packed with such well-dressed and gently demeanoured personages, the Pope seated in the midst, radiant of countenance and pouring forth words of holy wisdom, to which the devout company pay reverent and delighted attention. The

remaining two panels contain the martyrdom: in the first the maidens are being shot down, and Prince Conon dies in the arms of his bride; the other panel is reserved for the death of the glorious Ursula alone. But these martyrdom pictures are quite unreal. The soldiers are perfect gentlemen. Their chiefs look on with smiling wonder and a kind of reverent delight. The beholder, at a first glance, may receive some notion of violence and the like, but another look is reassuring. Clearly no harm is being done; it is only a pantomime. The soldiers, who look as though they were shooting arrows at the maidens, soon win our confidence. For all their acting, their eyes betray them, and we trust them instinctively. From a hasty glance we might think the girls in the boat were being killed, but we soon see that they are not; they throw their arms about and shrink behind the gunwale as if they were frightened; but they are bad actresses; we see through it all at once, and the innocent deception raises a smile. The unreality of the whole affair is emphasized by the introduction of the portrait of a famous contemporary as the archer, who is pretending to shoot St. Ursula. Weale showed that he is none other than Selim, son of Mahommed II and brother of Bajazet II, who was taken prisoner at Rhodes in 1488. Pinturicchio sketched him and his suite from life and painted him in the Appartemento Borgia and elsewhere.

It was in connexion with this imprisonment of his brother that Bajazet II in 1492 sent certain precious relics as a gift to Innocent VIII, and among them an emerald on which two heads were engraved in intaglio, fabled to be likenesses of Christ and St. Paul. This may have been a fourth century Roman gem, with a pair of heads in profile facing one another, and intended to represent St. Peter and St. Paul. Many examples of that design of early Christian date are known.[1] It appears that the heads on this gem were repeated in some late fifteenth century Italian medals, the St. Paul closely resembling the antique original. Christ's head, however, though in some points like the antique St. Peter, was not copied directly from the gem, but from a Flemish painting based upon it. The best and earliest existing example of this painting is a head of Christ in Berlin Museum, which used to be ascribed to John van Eyck, but in fact was not painted long before 1500. The

[1] See Garrucci, pl. 435.

jamb and spring of a background arch on the right side show it to be the half of a panel on which the heads of Christ and the Virgin were once united. A "cut-out" plaquette at Berlin (*Cat.*, ii, pl. 74, No. 997) contains the complete composition, and so does a Limoges enamel in the British Museum.[1] The Flemish picture in question does not here concern us, for it belongs as little to the workshop of Memling as to that of the Van Eycks. Suffice it to say that it gave currency to a type that was frequently copied under the impression that it preserved the actual lineaments of Our Lord.

It might easily be predicted that the Madonna pictures of such an artist as the foregoing examples of the work of Memling show him to have been would not fail to possess unusual charm. The earliest to which a date can be assigned is the full-length standing Virgin of 1472 in the Liechtenstein Collection, in which we may trace the influence of Roger, but the later half-length in the same gallery (even if it be a copy) is more characteristic of his best period. Loveliest of all is the Madonna in Prince Radziwill's Collection (Berlin), the scene being to all intents and purposes the bedroom of Van Eyck's Arnolfini. The grace of the group of Virgin and supporting angels, the sweetness of sentiment, the beauty of the treatment, the perfect harmony of the whole were not surpassed in any other of Memling's works. His finest and maturest half-length Virgin is on Martin van Nieuwenhoven's diptych of 1487, a picture frequently imitated by such followers of Memling as he who painted a well-known Madonna belonging to Lord Northbrook and one which is or was in the Sommier Collection. A contemporary copy of it with added angels (one playing a Jew's harp !) was found at a baker's in Bruges, employed as the lid of a flour barrel, the middle part being thus badly damaged ; it now belongs to Baron Béthune.

The most delightful of all Memling's Madonnas are among the last pictures he painted, those, to wit, in the Vienna and Uffizi Galleries. In each a richly vestmented angel drops the lute to offer an apple to the Child. On the other side is either an angel or a donor. Glimpses of landscape are seen to right and left of the

[1] For many of the above cited facts I am indebted to Mr. G. F. Hill, who has treated the question at length in a revised edition of his *Portraits of Christ.*

dorser of the throne, and the whole is surmounted and framed by an elaborately decorated round arch, with cherubs (whether alive or sculptured one can hardly tell) suspending festoons across it. Cherubs and festoons obviously owe their origin to Italian influence, but it is not necessary to send Memling to Italy to fetch them. Arch, cherubs, and festoons had much success, and were often imitated by painters of the next generation ; indeed, it is from them that we can trace the first beginnings of that tendency which, thirty years or more later, was to be manifested in the works of the Antwerp Mannerists.

Portraits of donors introduced into many of the pictures we have noticed would suffice to demonstrate that Memling was a good portrait-painter. We are not, however, restricted to them, being fortunately able to enjoy many pictures by him which are portraits pure and simple. With one or two unimportant exceptions they include little more than the bust, and an intruded hand or pair of hands of the sitter. The earlier examples oftenest have plain backgrounds, the later landscapes. If Memling at any time held the office of Court Painter to Charles the Rash, we should have had some princely portraits from his hand, but neither originals nor copies have come down to us. The best portrait of Margaret of York is in the Nardus Collection (Paris), but it betrays neither the hand nor the eye of Memling. It has been suggested that the kneeling King in the Floreins Magi of 1479 is a likeness of Duke Charles and that the St. Catherine and St. Barbara in the John altar-piece of the same date in the Hospital of St. John depict Mary of Burgundy and Margaret of York respectively. It is possible; but such likenesses introduced into religious pictures, and for which the persons depicted gave no sittings, cannot possess the qualities we look for in a portrait. Two repetitions of a bust of Anthony " le grand Bâtard de Bourgogne " exist in the galleries at Dresden and Chantilly, but both are copies of some original. He wears the Order of the Golden Fleece, conferred on him in 1456, while from his apparent age the original picture cannot have been painted later than 1460. It is more forceful, more dramatic, than any other known portrait painted by Memling, and, though commonly ascribed to him, implies an artist of more fiery nature, such as Hugo van der Goes. The stolid, not to say surly, individual whose bust

is at Hampton Court [1] offers a more characteristic example of Memling's early portraiture. It is careful, observant, and workmanlike, but lacks vivacity, rendering merely the aspect of the face in settled repose. The same observation may be made with respect to a whole group of portraits painted about 1467 to 1472. They appear to depict Italians.[2] Earliest of them is the Machiavellian Man with a Pink in the J. P. Morgan Collection, probably a member of the Italian Colony, in character, disposition, and distinction far removed from the local burgher-class of Bruges. In the 1904 Exhibition of French Primitives at Paris, sitter and artist were both claimed for Frenchmen, but neither claim is admissible. No uncertainty of authorship attaches to the Antwerp portrait of an Italian medallist, who can scarcely have been other than Niccolò di Forzore Spinelli, called Niccolò Fiorentino (1430–1514), great-nephew of the painter Spinello Aretino. He was engaged as seal-engraver to Duke Charles in 1467 and the following year, at which time Memling must have painted the picture. It is the first of his portraits with a landscape background, thoroughly Flemish in character, but with a palm-tree introduced in reference to the southern origin of the medallist. The medal held in his hand indicates his craft. He wears a skull-cap beneath which his dark curly hair bushes forth around the face. The outlying hairs are drawn individually against brow or sky.[3] Similar in composition and treatment is the portrait of another Italian, which is in the Corsini Gallery at Florence, the landscape including one of those semicircular roads which Memling often introduced. The bust portrait of a fat-faced, humorous, blasé-looking man at Brussels belongs to the same group. Otto Seeck claims him for Niccolò Strozzi. A pair of portraits in the New York Museum represent Thomas Portinari and his wife, Mary Baroncelli, the same that we have seen on the wings of Hugo's great triptych at Florence.

[1] It bears the number 276 painted on to the panel, but I cannot find it in the catalogue. Friedländer attributed it to Memling, Winkler to the same pupil of Roger who painted the Malines Archer's votive picture (Antwerp, No. 818).

[2] The condition of the portrait of James of Savoy in Basle Museum is so bad that it is impossible to decide whether it is an overpainted original or copy. The general aspect of the design is suggestive of Memling.

[3] The early portrait at Copenhagen by Memling is perhaps about contemporary with the Spinelli.

They were married in 1470, when the bride was only 14 years of age. Here they are not more than two or three years older, though the lady has already put on matronly airs of sobriety. She wears a costly necklace, which her husband could well afford to pay for. Her connexion, the wife of Pierantonio Baroncelli, whose portrait in the Uffizi was painted by a follower of Hugo's some seventeen years later, owned a more elaborate enamelled necklace of similar type. Why did not their descendants take care of these charming works of the goldsmith's art, instead of sending them to the melting-pot? If the creative instinct is strong in man, it is matched by a no less powerful impulse to destroy, and what we call Fashion is the efficient agent for both activities.

In none of these pictures do we find such revelation of character as is the glory of the best portraits of the Flemish School, or of Memling's maturer days. They are people whose minds are in repose; they might almost be sitting to a photographer. Yet beneath this still passivity there is life. Each face is ready to express emotion when emotion arises. The perfection and delicacy of the modelling manifest the vitality that distinguishes the faces from masks. They are not wooden, for all their momentary fixity. The flesh is soft, potentially changeful, and of a multifold plasticity. As with Memling's religious paintings, so with his portraits, they do not gain by being gathered together. Each is more enjoyable when seen alone. Each gains by familiarity. The families of these sitters must have been well pleased with the portraits, their obvious sincerity, their completeness, their comfortable companionship. The painter acted as a mirror. He reflected the face of each subject in repose. Hence Memling was to some extent at the mercy of his patrons. If a sitter possessed personal charm it might appear, as it does in the portraits of three lads, all again, I think, Italians, one formerly in the J. E. Taylor Collection, another in the Venice Academy, the third in the Dun Collection (formerly Lord Wemyss'). The first is of a peculiar type with a strangely long flat cheek; for him Fate may have held remarkable experiences in store. The second is a dreamer, perfectly suited to Memling's vision and treatment, and wholly realizable by him. The last is a little older, with a budding moustache upon his lip, a spick-and-span youth with a

determined expression, his personality beautifully expressed within the fixed limits of Memling's formula.

As Memling advanced in years, he obtained a deeper insight into some types of character, rather by quickened sympathy than by developed critical power. It is to sympathy that we owe the great charm felt in the portraits of a married pair of mature age now divided between the Berlin and Louvre Galleries. The man's is truly a great portrait—life itself. Character and expression alike are there, and we feel that if painter and sitter were unacquainted to start with they must have parted warm friends. The wife's likeness is a worthy pendant.[1] Yet more delightful and for a like reason is the New York (Altman Coll.) bust-portrait of a mellow and kindly old gentleman, exceptional among Netherlanders whose likenesses have come down to us. He may be supposed to have cultivated to perfection "l'art d'être grandpère." Here are all the tenderness, sympathy, and insight needed for such a masterpiece of portraiture.

With these delightful pictures we may group the Frankfurt man in a high cap with eyes very close together and a suppressed smile. The kindly diplomatic individual lives before us. When he turns and looks our way, he will surely speak; we need only wait a moment. In all these pictures Memling endows his subject with vitality and expression not earlier found, beside giving us a fuller idea of the general character of the personages portrayed than we receive from the preceding group. Two portraits, of 1480, at Brussels express the likenesses of William Moreel (Morelli) and his wife, who appear again upon the St. Christopher altar-piece of 1484 in the Bruges Academy. Weale would have us believe that the Flemish lady called the "Sibylla Sambettia," painted in 1480, was their daughter Mary; but she is obviously older than her supposed mother. The picture is in the Hospital of St. John. Memling lacked the power of a Rembrandt to endow with charm the likeness of an unattractive person.

A man and wife on a pair of wings at Hermannstadt have been ill-treated by restorers; it is, however, not their fault only that the little boy behind the one and the dog behind the other both look as

[1] Another portrait of an old woman in a white head-dress, in the C. von Hollitscher Collection at Berlin, is likewise attributed to Memling. I have not seen it.

though they were stuffed! In several of the afore-mentioned pictures the attitude chosen is that of prayer, with hands joined. Such must have been wings for diptychs or triptychs from which the jostlings of time have separated them; but an admirable diptych of 1487 has been preserved for us entire by the pious care of the Hospitallers of Bruges. It shows one of Memling's best Madonnas on the dexter leaf and the half-length of Martin van Nieuwenhoven on the sinister. The work was designed and executed with unusual care. A learned mathematician once pointed out to me indications of the pains taken with the proportions of the various parts, which are indeed excellent. The artist has availed himself of the traditional "Coupe d'or"; traces of the fundamental triangle can still be observed on the jamb of the window behind Martin's right shoulder. The likeness is worked out with much thoroughness and well deserves the high repute in which it is held. The man himself is evidently something of a fool, but Memling hides his weakness by a treatment exceptionally dramatic. The Hague bust-portrait of a disillusionized individual, for whom the world is much out of joint, must be of about the same date. It exemplifies the seriousness of Memling's outlook upon mankind in his last period. Compare it with the Spinelli of twenty years before. The convention in both is approximately the same, but how different is the treatment! The landscape has become merely decorative. The hair is still the frame to the face, but the face itself is painted with a solidity, an understanding of form and sense of mass, an appreciation of and insight into character far ahead of the earlier work.

Three panels of equal dimensions containing half-lengths, one dated 1487, are in the Uffizi and at Berlin. The last is a Madonna; the other two display St. Benedict and a praying donor. It has been thought that they may have been framed together, but their backgrounds are not in agreement. Even the Uffizi pair, which came out of the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova at Florence, do not make a very satisfactory diptych. If they belong together the young man's name was doubtless Benedetto, and the suggestion that he was Benedetto Portinari obtains support. The Portinari were closely associated both with Bruges and the said hospital. Memling has not made the youth interesting, but he has thoroughly

enjoyed painting the Saint, one of his best portraits. How gladly would we identify the model!

We are thus led to conclude that Memling was highly successful as a portrait-painter, but within a restricted area. He could paint only those with whom he was in sympathy, and they were not the powerful ones of the earth. Men of gentle heart like himself he could immortalize. His own portrait is in entire agreement with what we learn of him from his works, as of course it had to be. A painter's face and his pictures are alike modelled by his character; the one cannot belie the other. Memling's face is peculiar; the upper and lower parts of it are in disagreement. He has a weak, retreating chin and an underhung lower jaw, but he possesses a fine brow, steady, observant, persistent, intelligent eyes, and the well-formed nose of a capable man.[1] If we must choose a single word to define his expression we might call it "aspiring." This man will work hard, without excitement and without passion. He will prefer things pure, lovely, and of good report. He will be the friend of quiet and kindly folk. He will pursue the even tenor of his way. His pictures prove him to have possessed an artist's eye for a picture as a whole. If his sympathies did not embrace the wide gamut of human capacity and emotion, they were broad enough to include all that was in harmony with his own ideal. His paintings are complete, each within its intended area. They are integral. They suffer neither from the too-much nor the too-little. Execution matches conception. Idea and form are at one. They may not greatly stir the imagination, but they please the eye. Their merit may perhaps best be measured by the fact that of all Netherlandish painters Memling has most attracted the affection of posterity, though he has failed to excite its wonder. In the Elysian fields he walks with Fra Angelico; but if we are to select an Italian parallel to him as an artist Perugino must be our choice. The two men would have understood one another.[2]

Memling, besides being himself an industrious painter, must have

[1] Marcantonio Michiel saw a portrait of Memling in Cardinal Grimani's collection at Venice in 1521. It depicted a man "circa di anni 65, piutosto grasso che altramente e rubicundo."

[2] A half-length St. Barbara, the property of Sir George Radford, not mentioned, so far as I can discover, by any writer on Memling, appears to be a genuine work, judging from a photograph.

given work in his studio to several assistants. Hence no two critics agree in drawing up a list of his works, for some accept as by his own hand paintings which others ascribe to pupils or helpers. When an artist designs a picture and himself paints the more important parts of it, it is his picture ; but is it his if only the design and the oversight have come from him ? Or what are we to say of a replica of some finished work done under his eye, touched here and there by his hand, and probably sold by him as his own work ? Evidently there can be all grades of authenticity between a painting entirely conceived, drawn, coloured, and finished by the artist himself, and one for which he provided only a preliminary sketch, leaving all the work to be carried out by some trusted assistant, who in his turn may have had the help of a drapery-man or landscapist for certain parts. Friedländer seems to me to include in his list of Memling's pictures several belonging to the studio class. Such is the half-length Madonna in the Kaufmann Collection, an imitation of which one stage further removed from our artist was in the Bourgeois sale (1904). Both are versions of the Madonna of the Nieuwenhoven diptych, which was Memling's own from start to finish. Again, there are two enthroned Madonnas at Berlin neither of which seems to express fully the mind and hand of our artist; indeed, a famous critic felt the deficiency so strongly that he was tempted to call the example formerly in the Thiem Collection a forgery. To me it appears like the work of an assistant done under the master's eye in the last period of his life. The beautiful enthroned Virgin with St. George in the National Gallery, though perhaps sold out of Memling's studio and painted with his co-operation, can hardly be entirely his handiwork, while the half-length Madonna in the same Gallery looks like the work of an assistant throughout. I can only accept with similar reserve the Buda-Pesth triptych, the St. Jerome in the Burckhardt Collection at Basle, the Louvre St. Sebastian, and the six little panels in the Strasburg Museum. As for the organ panels at Antwerp from Najera Abbey in Spain, about the authenticity of which opinion has been so divided, no one any longer doubts Memling's responsibility for their design, but an experienced assistant could have done the actual painting as well as he, for to paint on so large a scale was not Memling's gift. I will not deny that he may have put his

hand to these pictures, but there is no evidence on the face of them that compels us to think so.

A stage further removed from the master-mind are the works evidently by his followers, some of which can be grouped together as by one or another recognizable but nameless individual. Reference has been made above to the painter of the Northbrook Virgin and another in the Sommier Collection, both shown at Bruges in 1902 (Nos. 140 and 215). There is a third half-length at Boston which seems not far removed from them. The painter must have been one of Memling's direct pupils. Further research will probably add to his list. Another follower may claim the Deposition in the Otlet sale, which came out of a convent of Carmelite nuns at Valladolid, and was shown at the Golden Fleece Exhibition (1907, No. 197); his also was the Crucifixion which belonged to the Hon. John Hay at Washington, and perhaps also the Deposition triptych which was burnt when in the Kaufmann Collection,[1] though that was considered by good authorities to be an early work of Memling himself. Recurring again to the enthroned Madonna in Berlin from the Thiem Collection, it will be profitable to compare it with similar pictures at Frankfurt (No. 109) and in the Chapel Royal at Granada. The stone thrones in the last two with their sculptured decorations are exactly alike, and resemble that in the first: the Virgin's skirt draperies are identical in both, and the sentiment of all three pictures is similar, yet no two of them are by the same hand. All three pictures are obviously of Memling's school, but each is removed a little further than its predecessor from the master's own work. Memling's pretty Virgo inter Virgines in the Louvre is well imitated in a diptych at Munich, where the donor is presented by St. George and the two halves have a common foreground and landscape. An Adoration of the Magi which was in the Odiot sale (1889), and before that in the Ocampo Collection, bears the forged signature "El Bosco fe." It is a picture of fine quality painted at Bruges about 1490 by an artist of some independence, though strongly under the influence of Memling. A triptych in the Palazzo Durazzo at Genoa with the Descent from the Cross and attendant figures, all half-lengths, shows imitation of the diptych by Hugo van der Goes. A copy at Granada of one

[1] Bruges Exhibition (1902), No. 92.

of the wings of that diptych is attributed to Memling on reasonable grounds. In the Pacully Collection (Paris) was a St. Ildefonso kneeling before the Virgin painted by an artist who must have been formed by Memling. The picture was shown at the Bruges Exhibition (1902, No. 111). Several details connect it with the St. Bertin panels. The architecture of the screen and the head of the saint may be cited. This would lead us to look for the artist in Hainault, but no other picture by him has been recognized.

Portraits attributed to Memling, but to which doubt attaches, are in the Uffizi, the Cardon Collection (Brussels), and elsewhere. One which may have been genuine was offered to me for purchase about thirty years ago in Italy. I have not seen it since. Spurious Memling portraits, by an identified modern forger of great skill, have made their appearance in auction-rooms in recent years. I owe to M. Salomon Reinach an admirable coloured reproduction of one of them, a clever work. Photographs of others have appeared in some illustrated sale-catalogues.

No drawings by Memling are known, but a portrait-head in Rotterdam Museum, another in Mr. Henry Oppenheimer's collection, a fine Saint's head in the Louvre, and a St. George with Princess and Dragon formerly in the Lanna Collection have been attributed to him by different critics.

The foregoing are merely a selection, representative but very far from complete, of existing works which may be attributed to Memling's studio or to his immediate followers. It is hard to draw the line between followers and imitators. The impression made by Memling upon artists of the next generation was deep and abiding. He also influenced his contemporaries to a greater or less extent. Before passing on to the work of the Bruges School after Memling's death those contemporaries must receive such attention at our hands as each of them may seem to deserve.

CHAPTER XVIII

MINOR BRUGES PAINTERS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

When Memling died in 1495 the great days of Bruges were over. The prosperity of the city as a centre of trade and manufacture had been high under the fostering care of Duke Philip the Good. His great riches—his income was twice that of the Pope—were drawn from the general wealth of his industrious subjects and from the trade largely handled by foreign merchants, especially Italians and Spaniards. He had done the best he knew to encourage them, and had battened on their success. In 1456 Bruges numbered 150,000 inhabitants, a vast population for a mediæval city. As many as a hundred and fifty foreign ships were known to enter her docks in a single day. Here the Duke generally resided ; hither he came for all the greatest ceremonies of his reign, such as the celebration of his nuptials with Isabella of Portugal and the foundation of the Order of the Golden Fleece. But when Charles the Rash succeeded his father in 1477, evil times followed, and both nature and the politicians combined to ruin what industry had produced. The Zwyn, by which vessels obtained access to Bruges from the sea, set itself determinedly to silt up. Vigorous efforts were made to resist its evil tendency, but the sand conquered, and Bruges presently ceased to be a port of any consequence. After 1494 sea-going ships could no longer reach her. Soon afterward no less than five thousand of her citizens were unemployed, and emigration was rapidly taking place. Even so the city might have maintained its settled position as a world-exchange, had it not been for political disturbances, seditions, and the blunders of government. When security disappeared the great merchants vanished with it, and settled at Antwerp, just as about a century later and for a like reason the more enterprising of them were to abandon Antwerp for Amsterdam. As Bruges declined Antwerp advanced.

Maximilian and Mary had been married at Bruges in 1477 ; it was at Antwerp that the wedding of Philip the Fair and Joanna of Aragon took place. Bruges became a city of memories, Antwerp of hopes. Bruges of necessity clung to the past, Antwerp looked to the future. The arts of the two cities were affected by the spirit of the folk. The artists of Bruges were conservative ; those of Antwerp adventurous. No new thing will come out of the failing centre. It is to Antwerp that we must turn to watch the birth of the Flemish Renaissance. That was incorporated by Antwerp as Bruges had incorporated the later middle-age.

To write the history of a decline is a thankless task. We watch growth with pleasure, decay with disgust. If, however, instead of fixing our eyes as historians upon the fortunes of a school of art, we turn as amateurs to individual works, though produced at a time of decay, many will be found to possess qualities of beauty. They may be compared to fading leaves, harbingers of winter, yet in themselves brilliant and a little weird, twisting into strange forms out of which life is passing, but at any given moment, when we forget their doom, visibly and positively beautiful.

Despairing to make the discussion of them interesting, I relegated to the end of the last chapter such mention as could not be avoided of a number of school-pictures, close to Memling in style, painted by unidentified artists. There remain, however, a few anonymous painters, contemporaries and followers of Memling at Bruges, to whom groups of works have been assigned. The most important of these men has been nicknamed the " Master of the Ursula Legend," or, for short, the Ursula Master. No doubt his name is one of several recorded in the Bruges registers, but we have no means of identifying it. He must have been active during about the last twenty-five years of Memling's life, say 1470–95, and may have predeceased or survived the master who had so strong an influence upon him. He does not, however, appear to have been Memling's pupil. For all we know he may have been the Pieter Casenbroot, cited by Hulin as a leading Bruges artist, who became a master in 1459 and lived on into the early years of the sixteenth century, frequently holding high positions in his guild. No works by Casenbroot are known. But there are several other artists in like case, so we must make shift with the

nickname for our painter. The altar-piece wings in the Convent of the Black Sisters at Bruges are his most considerable work, telling the Legend of St. Ursula on eight panels, and introducing full-length figures of the proud Church and a much more attractive Synagogue on two more. Assistants decorated the backs with inferior grisailles. The interest of these pictures lies largely in the fact that they are an illustration of the legend earlier in date than Memling's. Neither artist borrowed from the other ; but Memling makes of each incident a picture, the Ursula Master's are illustrations and nothing more. The latter contain some nice figures, fine costumes, entertaining incidents, elaborate architectural backgrounds drawn in poor perspective, and quite a number of *genre* details which admit us to sight of the way things were done in the vanished past. None of them is so amusing as that of the Voyage of the Virgins by another unidentified artist, which made a brief appearance in the sale-room and has vanished again.[1] There the ladies were packed in three boats floating near the walls of a castle, and all its battlements and bridges were filled with young knights in armour, dozens of them, greatly excited, as well they might be, with so much beauty drifting by. They launch boats and hasten towards the pretty girls with gestures of delight. Martyrdom is the last thing that artist was thinking of.

The most interesting of the Ursula Master's panels is the eighth, in which he introduces us into the church where the relics of St. Ursula are the object of veneration by a number of pilgrims. It is the best representation that remains to us of what the interior of a mediæval pilgrimage church was like, and how the pilgrims behaved. The relics are in a fine *châsse* above the altar-piece, on which is a picture of the saint with her maidens gathered beneath her mantle. Pilgrims approach from the main body of the church and kneel on the chapel floor around the altar. Most of them are well-to-do folk, but one looks like a sort of professional pilgrim, dressed for the part, bottle and all. The furniture of the altar is worth notice. A sister stands at the end of it, with an open book and a number of coins lying alongside, the gifts of previous pilgrims, I suppose, and hint of what is expected from the new-comers. Further back at a

[1] I have a photograph of it. It was No. 14 in some sale of about 1890–1900. It measured 23 × 41 cm. and on the back were saints against a red background.

table another sister is selling some unidentifiable objects, apparently stick-like in form—candles perhaps, but they may be pilgrim's signs. Votive offerings are fastened to a bar over her head—a sword and models of arms, legs, whole bodies, a ship, and so forth—memorials of favours desired or obtained. There is a notable atmosphere of everyday use and wont about the whole scene—the atmosphere of the market-place rather than of a religious act. Though the picture gives us little æsthetic pleasure it is an invaluable document of record.

The little ladies of St. Ursula recall the Wise and Foolish Virgins in a curious picture at Berlin, the upper and lower parts of which are obviously by different hands. Aloft is the Last Judgment painted by some follower of Roger, to whom also the resurrected nudes of the middle distance are due, but the Virgins in the foreground, if not by the Ursula Master, are by a painter closely allied to him. An altar-piece in the Kaufmann Collection is our artist's most finished work on a large scale. It is a thoroughly conventional picture: an enthroned St. Anne in the midst with the Virgin seated on the step below and the Child in her lap. Four saints stand or sit around, and to left and right are landscape distances beyond a walled garden—in all essentials the same composition as that of Memling's triptych of Sir John Donne. Helped by a strong convention and a good model the Ursula Master here attains a better pictorial unity than in the series from which he is named. Another St. Anne with Virgin and Child, identical in types, is found presenting Anne de Blasere on the surviving half of a memorial diptych, which, after disappearing from view at a Paris sale in 1852, has reappeared in the collection of Mr. Philip Lehman in New York.[1] Both these pictures date from about 1480. A small altar-piece by our artist is in the town gallery at Freiburg i. B. Another, a Virgin and Child with four saints, which was in the Beurnonville and Mège sales, has been wrongly attributed to him. It is by some follower of Bouts.

The Ursula Master was also employed to paint the half-length Madonnas so fashionable in his day. Examples by him are in the

[1] Reinach's *Repertoire*, i, p. 130; F. J. Mather in *Art in America*, Oct. 1915, p. 269. Anne de Blasere's first husband was a Nieuwenhoven, doubtless a relative of Memling's employer.

Museum at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the Winthrop and Morgan Collections in New York, and in the Van Stolk Collection at Haarlem (No. 444). The first-mentioned repeats a well-known composition by Roger which was frequently reproduced in the first decade of the sixteenth century. The Winthrop panel reproduces another Roger school type, in which the Virgin holds the Child with both hands. To these types our artist has added angels, in the one case a pair of them holding a crown over the Virgin's head, in the other grouped into a living arch above her. Neither feature was original. Pairs of crown-holding angels were a school property, and the arch of angels finds a parallel in pictures by the Maître de Moulins and several other named or nameless painters. The more the Ursula Master depended upon school traditions, the better were his pictures. He was sounder as craftsman than as designer. His own imagination did not carry him far.[1]

He was also employed to make portraits. In the Episcopal Seminary at Bruges is a wall-panel decoratively painted with the likenesses of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy, effectively treated for their position and purpose.[2] A more serious and finished work is the bust-portrait of a young man with hands joined, which is now in the J. G. Johnson Collection (No. 327). This was obviously half of a diptych. The other half can scarcely have been a Madonna, because she appears in the background of the portrait-panel, seated on a throne in a garden courtyard with the harping and luting angel pair beside her. One of the towers of Bruges is in the background on one side, the landscape on the other being borrowed from Memling. The young man portrayed is neither a beauty nor a genius, and the artist has done nothing to put forward even the best that was in him, but has painted him with serious care. If his head looks wooden, probably so it was. Other portraits assigned to this artist are not by him, and have already been described as the work of Justus of Ghent.

The Bruges Master of the Lucia Legend was so named by Friedländer after a picture in the Church of St. Jacques. It is an

[1] Other Madonnas by him were in the Spitzer and Sir Charles Turner sales. Friedländer attributes to him a diptych in the Fairfax-Murray Collection dated 1486, and a triptych formerly belonging to the Duke of Parma.

[2] Reproduced in the Vienna *Jahrbuch* for 1913.

assemblage of three incidents side by side on a long panel, divided one from another by a slender decorated column. In one of them a couple of oxen harnessed to ropes are trying to move the saint, who stands unconcerned and, as it were, rooted to the ground. Even her drapery is not affected by the cords. Nothing could be less dramatic. There is no pull to the oxen and little astonishment on the faces of the spectators. The subject was entirely beyond the artist's powers. He suffered from the general limitation of his school. If he possessed any originality, it showed itself in the build of his women. He makes them disproportionately tall in relation to the size of their heads and hands. We can observe a tendency to cheapen the work, to produce an effect with least expenditure of means. Thus the brocaded dorser behind the judge, instead of being painted with the elaborate care and love for its rich detail which the Van Eycks had devoted to such decorative pieces, is merely an outlined pattern on a coloured ground. On the other hand, the faces of male models interest this artist in proportion as they manifest character. His women are dolls, but his bad men are at least human. His most important picture was the altar-piece for the guild of the Drie Sanctinnen, now in Brussels Museum. Weale says that it was set up in the Church of Our Lady at Bruges in 1489. It depicts the Virgin and Child surrounded by ten saintesses, with flower-hedges behind them on either side, and a landscape background. Gerard David belonged to the guild in question, and must often have said his prayers in the presence of this picture. We shall see that he in his turn imitated it, just as its painter had borrowed parts of it from his predecessors. Thus he copied the Virgin and Child out of Memling's Donne triptych and the Magdalen, who kneels in front, from Roger's Entombment in the Uffizi. Fortunately none of the ladies are standing, so that we are not troubled with any over-long proportions in their figures. Moreover, their heads seem relatively larger, and perhaps the artist had overcome that weakness. St. Catherine, instead of having a broken wheel for emblem at her feet, wears a garment embroidered all over with wheels—a novel treatment. Some of the women seem to have been painted as portraits from the life, and there is more variety in their poses and grouping than might be expected. The chord of colour of the whole work is unusually light, and the picture

may have served pretty well as a decoration over an altar-piece, but no one can call it a great work of art. It marks a stage of decline and shows how the traditions of the best days of the school were beginning to wear out. We know of two more St. Catherines by the same painter, one in the J. G. Johnson Collection (No. 326), the other in Pisa Gallery—both single standing figures before landscape backgrounds, in which, as in both pictures above described, the towers of Bruges stand up against the sky. These are mature works, with heads no longer over-small. They are decorative and pleasing, not lacking in a certain dignity, nor calling upon the artist for the exercise of powers of observation, composition, or imagination which he did not possess. A triptych with a Pietà on the central panel and a saint on each wing was for sale at the Spanish Gallery in London in 1916. It shows a more elaborate view of Bruges than the others, but the town is placed by a broad river in a hill country. St. Catherine is once more the best figure. It is evident that this Lucia Master might have been a good portrait-painter, and someone may yet identify existing portraits as his. Misfortune of birth placed him in a day when the fashion was to demand religious pictures from artists devoid of religious feeling. There was neither passion nor fervour in him. What entertained him was the faces of men, faces of well-marked character and varied expression. He cared little about saints, and had no imagination to bear him into fairy-land. Bruges was his home, and he meant you to know it. He would sooner have painted her actual streets and gardens than the Elysian fields, and the people he met every day than the inhabitants of Paradise. Unfortunately for him he had to make his bread and butter by painting saints according to formula. He probably did with them the best he could. If he were known by only one picture we might have passed him by, but when a group is identified as by a single painter he has to be noticed.

In Buckingham Palace is a brilliantly painted picture (a contemporary copy according to Bodenhausen) by an otherwise unknown Bruges artist, akin to but more gifted than the Ursula Master. The subject is the Virgo inter Virgines. They are grouped on a flowery mead, the Virgin seated on a bank. The nascent influence of Gerard David is perceptible as well as memories of Memling and of the Lucia Master. Small angels support a carpet

canopy high in the air above the Virgin. Bodenhausen thinks that in the original this was a dorser behind the throne, but is it not rather a sign of the approach of that bizarre treatment of figures and accessories which characterized the Antwerp Mannerists of the next half-century ? The picture in question dates from about 1480.

Delicate and delightfully painted triptychs of about the same date, but by artists more gifted and skilled than the two upon whom we have spent so much space, are in the Sigmaringen [1] and Berlin [2] Galleries respectively. The former is marked with the year 1473. Portraits of a pair of donors are on the wings of each, the central panel of one bearing a Madonna, of the other a Crucifixion. They are instinct with the spirit of the early works of Memling. A wedding picture, which when in the Duke of Sutherland's possession was fabled to depict the marriage of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou, is less good though interesting work of about 1475. It is worth comparing with a similar subject painted in one of the compartments of the polyptych from Ghistelles, near Bruges, which passed into the Dollfus Collection.

Toward the close of the century Bruges painters, beside repeating as they freely did the compositions of Roger, and multiplying his half-length Madonnas almost indefinitely, turned their attention to the Van Eycks and Campin and introduced an archaistic fashion which became rather popular. We shall find that it affected even so original a painter as Quentin Massys and that it was continued far down into the sixteenth century. The multiplication of heads of Christ of the type above described (p. 235) is hardly a fair example, for such pictures were considered a true likeness. A better early instance is a triptych which was in the Otlet sale (No. 5) where the Crucifixion on the central panel is taken from Hubert van Eyck, while the donors and saints on the wings are painted in the Bruges style of about 1480. A Magdalen has been introduced embracing the foot of the Cross, and the composition thus enriched was presently taken over by Quentin and repeated three times. A Bruges artist of about 1480 would not have painted the Thieves as he did

[1] Bruges Exhibition (1902), No. 49. The donors were the Burgomaster Jan de Witte and his wife.

[2] *Amtliche Berichte*, Nov. 1907. The donors were Pieter van de Woestyne and his wife.

in a Crucifixion in the J. G. Johnson Collection (No. 323) if he had not been acquainted with Campin's original, but he did not make a direct copy of them as was done some twenty years later by a fellow-townsman who produced the large Crucifixion which still remains in its place in St. Saviour's at Bruges. Another nameless artist copied,[1] with changes, the Virgin and Child from Van Eyck's Dresden triptych. More charming is the repetition of Van Eyck's Virgin in a Church which yet another Bruges painter made as half of a diptych for Christian de Hondt, Abbot of the Dunes, in the year 1499; an excellent portrait of the Abbot kneeling at a *prie-dieu* in his comfortable well-furnished chamber occupies the other wing. On the outside, when the diptych was closed, was a grisaille of Christ as Salvator Mundi and the coats-of-arms of Abbot and monastery at the foot. A later Abbot, Robert Leclercq (1519–57), a round-headed, underbred, comfortable-looking person, gave this diptych to an artist of his day, who coloured the grisaille Christ, painted the later Abbot's arms over the earlier, and filled the blank panel with an excellent portrait of Leclercq. The diptych thus embellished is one of the gems of the Antwerp Gallery.

The last and most beautiful of the Bruges archaistic paintings of the latest days of the fifteenth century to which we need refer is the half-length Madonna in a landscape which is in the Jacquemart-André Gallery in Paris. A Bruges tower in the background identifies the artist's home. The admirable landscape almost carries us back to Hubert. The gravity of the treatment, the dignified drapery, the completeness of the modelling are characteristic of an earlier day, but there are many details which fix the date at about the year 1500 or possibly even later. Few, if any, Madonna pictures of the school can be put on an equality with this singularly dignified and puzzling work. It was at one time tentatively ascribed to John Provost.

Most Flemish artists were not of this kind. They were generally at heart men of this world. Their imaginations did not play easily with heavenly things. They were seldom by nature religious. The direct fact belonged to them. If they had to paint a martyrdom they set down the plain brutal story without passion and without hope. Ribera's Apollo skinning Marsyas and Gerard David's Unjust

[1] The picture belongs to Mrs. Simpson Carson. *Burlington Mag.*, April 1909, p. 49.



1. THE MASTER OF ST. BERTIN'S. PREDELLA PANEL. BERLIN.—p. 223.



2. FRENCH SCHOOL. DIPTYCH OF JEANNE DE BOURBON. CHANTILLY—p. 226.



3. A BRUGES ARTIST (*c.* 1500). COLL. ANDRÉ. p. 254.



4. THE URSULA MASTER. A PILGRIMAGE CHAPEL. BRUGES.—p. 248.

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Judge are like subjects, but Ribera clouded his drama in the majesty of shadow. David set the hideous event in the open light of the market-place. There is nothing mystical about mid or late fifteenth century religious art. The foreign element in Memling carried him a little further away from literalness, but not far. John van Eyck's Arnolfini portrait contains the live core of all great Flemish art. There exists no Madonna picture of the school that can be placed on a level with the best of the Italians. The André Madonna is fine, is perhaps as fine as any produced in the North, but the seers of the South beheld the heavens opened. No such vision shone beyond the Alps.

CHAPTER XIX

BRABANT PAINTERS AFTER ROGER AND BOUTS

After the death of Roger van der Weyden at Brussels in 1464 and that of Dirk Bouts at Louvain in 1475, no painter of the first rank remained in either of those cities. Leaders of the next generation of artists were Memling at Bruges and Hugo van der Goes at Ghent, with that independent genius, Jerome Bosch, to follow: we shall deal with him in due course, but must leave him out of count for the moment. The artists who were to be active in the generation that followed Memling's were being born about the time when Roger died. Chief were:

Albert Bouts of Louvain . .	born about 1460
Colin de Coter of Brussels . .	,, ,, 1460
Gerard David of Bruges . .	,, ,, 1460
Goswin van der Weyden of Brussels	,, ,, 1463–5
Quentin Massys of Louvain and Antwerp	,, in 1466
Mabuse of Antwerp . . .	,, about 1465–70

Of these men, Bosch, Massys, and Mabuse were original artists, who heralded and exemplified a new artistic epoch. Albert Bouts, Colin, Goswin, and David were conservatives who continued the traditions and often closely imitated the works of their great predecessors: Colin those of Campin, David of Memling, Albert Bouts of his father Dirk Bouts, and Goswin of his grandfather, Roger. The four conservatives were not without merits of their own, as we shall see, but they were the ripe, even over-ripe, fruit of the old tree, and their art led on to no future development. With them we close a chapter of art-history; with the others, the progressives, a new chapter opens. We will deal in this and the succeeding chapter with the four conservatives and some of their

unnamed contemporaries. It will be convenient to take Albert Bouts first.

When Dirk Bouts died his two sons, Dirk and Albert, carried on the business of picture manufacturers at Louvain. Dirk junior died in 1491, leaving a son who worked as a painter at Mechlin, but no pictures by either father or son are known. Albert Bouts lived to a ripe age ; a considerable number of existing pictures are attributed to him on tolerably solid grounds. He was a few years older than Quentin Massys, having been born about or a little before 1460. He married twice—in 1481 and 1491. He died, almost a centenarian, in 1549. His identification, due to Hulin's observations, is derived from one of two pictures at Brussels, both representing the Assumption of the Virgin (Nos. 534, 535), and evidently by the same hand. Molanus records that Albert Bouts painted a picture of this subject and presented it to the Church of St. Peter at Louvain. The Brussels triptych (534) appears to be the work in question, for the arms held by an angel over the heads of the donors on the sinister wing are composed as follows : below, the bearings of the painters' guild ; above, in chief, a pair of crossed quarrels or arbalest-bolts, called *bout* in Flemish (in punning reference to the name of Bouts) ; over all the initial A for Albert. The identification seems complete. Here, then, we have the portraits of Albert and his second wife. With such a face the man could not be a genius, but he looks and doubtless was an honest fellow, the hard-working and prosperous head of a competent picture factory.

We need not concern ourselves with more than a small selection of the many works now attributed with reasonable probability to him. None of them is inspired ; none strikes out a new line ; but they are solidly and well painted, and have stood the test of time. If Quentin went to Albert to learn the technique of painting, he went to a good school. The afore-mentioned Assumption is a work of the master's maturity, and shows him at his worst and most elaborate. He was probably immensely proud of it, having filled it with every detail he could collect within the area of the panels. In former days the triptych was attributed to Van der Goes, and we can easily perceive why. Imitation of Van der Goes is visible in it, especially in some of the Apostles'

heads. But Albert generally contented himself with slavishly following, almost copying, his father's designs. Dirk Bouts' patterns must have formed a valuable part of his studio equipment. Thus the son's Last Supper at Brussels repeats the composition of the father's notable picture at Louvain. The Supper at Simon's in the same gallery is a hard version, with some changes, of the picture by the elder Bouts, now at Berlin. One of the pair of wings, formerly belonging to Mr. Crews but now in the collection of Mr. Leopold Hirsch (London), copies the Moses before the Burning Bush, which is in the J. G. Johnson Collection.

The Munich and Berlin Annunciations are among the younger artist's most successful works. but their success is due to the closeness with which they follow the formula of a previous generation. The St. Christopher in the J. G. Johnson Collection [1] goes back to the father's admirable wing at Munich ; and so we might continue were it worth while. Though Albert Bouts was thus unoriginal, his pictures are not without a value of their own dependent upon their decorative quality. This is less true of the larger ones. The smaller they are the better. Thus there is in the possession of Professor Mather at Princetown a delightful little enthroned Virgin before a landscape, still in the frame the artist chose for it, with a God the Father painted by him in its curved pediment. The artist repeated this composition with a different background on a little panel, which passed through the hands of Messrs. Dowdeswell.[2] The brilliancy of the colours and the fineness of the workmanship endow both with undeniable charm, while the necessary traditional character of the design relieved the painter from any call upon his inventiveness. Another little Madonna in the hands of Mr. Max Rothschild in 1916 is a repetition, as far as the figures are concerned, of the enthroned Virgin in the Chapel Royal at Granada, and possesses similar merits. A St. Jerome in Penitence in the Kaufmann Collection (with a tiny Magdalen carried aloft by angels in the background and other legendary incidents) is an example of the artist's conservatism. We have only to compare

[1] In the Louvre is a drawing (Phot. Giraudon, 420) closely connected with this picture.

[2] I owe photographs of these two pictures to the kindness of the Spanish Gallery and Messrs. Dowdeswell respectively. In the Museum at Worcester, Mass., U.S.A., is a good example of this artist's Madonnas—a Virgin and Child with an Angel.

it with the similar Jeromes of the David School to see how far Albert Bouts lagged behind the fashion. He could not, however, entirely fail to move with the times. The Assumption triptych or a pair of wings likewise in the Kaufmann Collection (Berlin), both of his mature period, shows, if not an advance, at all events some change in style from that of his father. The landscape is original—disagreeably so. However far off the trees may be, they are painted as separate growths like weeds in a bed. Rocks are tiresomely broken up into pieces and fitted together as by a rude cyclopean mason. Detail is added to detail, and the distance is as full of hard and sharp features as the foreground. The old love of fine finish has degraded here into a pettifogging multiplication of insignificant minutiæ.

Albert Bouts' shop provided devotional pictures of well-recognized types for those requiring them. Such were the heads of the Man of Sorrows and the Mater Dolorosa, either singly or in pairs, whereof many examples still exist. It will suffice to mention a pair in the Ruffo de Bonneval Sale and other replicas in the Hoogendijk Collection and the Lyons Museum. There are more elsewhere. In these all the horrors of the bloody Crown of Thorns, wounded hands, and the like are insisted on without any dramatic power or evocation of pity. Slightly different in detail, but similar in type, are a pair in the Bock Collection,[1] of which replicas or copies might be named. In all these examples, the old tradition of the local school is closely adhered to. But there exists a single head of Christ, not crowned with thorns, which was in the De Somzée Collection, and is greatly superior to the foregoing group. This was attributed to Quentin Massys, and bears a superficial resemblance to his handiwork. Its merit is due to the fact that it follows closely the original by John van Eyck, now in the possession of Messrs. Browne & Browne, of Newcastle. If the ascription to Albert Bouts is correct—and it is by no means certain—it shows him at his best, not however pointing the way for Quentin Massys, but rather imitating him at a time when he had advanced far beyond the highest point ever attained by Albert.

A nameless artist of about 1480, whom I will call for purposes of identification the Master of the Solomons, painted for his master-

[1] Düsseldorf Ex. (1904), No. 145.

piece a picture now in Cologne Museum (No. 422). His style combines the traditions of Roger and Bouts, but he was probably a pupil of the latter. The picture in question [1] is a four-panel altar-piece of Brabantine type. The four inside panels are filled with incidents away off into the far distance, and the horizon is made high to accommodate as many as possible. The foregrounds of the two panels on the left contain Christ's Charge to Peter and the Visitation, the latter a repetition of the type popularized by Roger. The other two relate the prosperity and the trials of Job. There are portraits of the donor and his wife with their arms, but they do not seem to have been identified. The whole work is not, in fact, a picture at all, but an assemblage of illustrations, a monument of industrious ingenuity, not of artistic creation. A portion depicts the nude and suffering Job giving money to one of three trumpeters, apparently to induce them to stop their noise and go away. Trumpeters of like type and with cheeks no less inflated take part in another ceremonial depicted by the same painter on a panel in the Amsterdam Gallery (No. 342). There, Solomon is seen sacrificing a rather pathetic goat before a somewhat comic idol.[2] The crowded figures are large in proportion to the panel; a reduction has consequently to be made in the scale of the architecture to fit everything in. The street scene in the background gives a pleasant glimpse into a picturesque mediæval town. By the same artist are a pair of wings, with Solomon again, which were in the Cardon Collection (Brussels).[3] The four kneeling donors in the foregrounds of them hold crosses in sign that they were all dead. This was doubtless their memorial. Two miracles of a Saint in the Dublin Gallery, an altar-piece in the Cologne Museum, and the wings of a small carved altar-piece in the Radowitz Collection at Madrid, are all assigned to this painter—I forget by whom. He was not an important artist, neither was he a mere imitator. His designs are his own. His personality is seen through his work and is not weak. His pictures are decoratively coloured, and their details often entertaining.

[1] Purchased at the Fechenbach sale, 1889, reproduced in the sale catalogue. See *Zeits. f. christl. Kunst*, May 1889, p. 50.

[2] In 1787 it is said to have belonged to W. A. Kien van Sitters.

[3] Bruges Ex. (1902), No. 110.

Here is perhaps as good a point as any for mention of another inferior artist who worked about this time either at Louvain or Brussels, and is known to us by two pictures, a Last Supper in the Seminary at Bruges and a portrait which was in the Goldschmidt Collection.[1] In the former we may note initials in the window-glass. The painter evidently came like Albert out of the school of Dirk Bouts, and borrowed from that master many a hint for his Passover wing. But it was not from him that he took the round table for the Last Supper, a feature commoner in French than in Netherlandish pictures. He was rather a quaint artist, painting features on too large a scale for heads and heads too big for bodies. He makes his people very narrow across the shoulders, but that is lucky for them seeing how they had to crowd themselves so very closely together to get into the picture at all. He painted his furniture and other accessories with taste, understanding, and enjoyment; even his queer little people are attractive in their dwarfish fashion, and possess a good deal of character. The aged, sunken-cheeked ecclesiastic who looks forth with reverence from the Goldschmidt panel might have come straight out of the Last Supper. He is a dear old thing, never very effective as a man of the world, but quite at home in a cloister. How he ever came to think of having his portrait painted is a mystery; as it evidently formed part of a diptych it may have been done in his memory, and set up in a church by his relatives. It is strange how attractive a second-rate artist's pictures may be if he is a genuine person painting what is in him, and not merely what he thinks to be in someone else. I have noted above that the garden seen through the window of the Supper Chamber is the same as that behind the Ashburnham Annunciation now in New York Museum. Both pictures must have been painted in the same place, which may have been either Brussels or Louvain.

While Albert Bouts was working at Louvain, Colin de Coter must have been the leading artist at Brussels; he was certainly the best there of his day whose works are extant. His merit is of recent recognition, and he does not yet occupy in general esteem the position which is his due. It is only by guessing that we fix Colin de Coter's birth at about 1460. He may have been

[1] Bruges Ex. (1902), Nos. 42 and 381.

born earlier, but not early enough to have been Roger's pupil. His style was strongly influenced by Roger, but the pictures he chiefly admired were Campin's. Whoever taught him was merely a medium for conveying the ideas and technique of those masters to his head and hand. It can scarcely be doubted that he was the Colin of Brussels who in 1493 had his name inscribed as a master-painter in the books of the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke. He must already have been accomplished in painting on a large scale, or he would not straightway have been charged by the Guild to paint the figures of angels on the vault of their chapel of St. Luke in the Cathedral. He may have taken up his mastership at Antwerp in order to be eligible to carry out that commission. It will be remembered that angels in a like position in the vault of St. Peter's at Louvain were ascribed to Roger by Hulin; they no longer exist. The Antwerp angels would have been of similar character. Though Colin had this connexion with Antwerp and may have spent much time in that new art-centre, he remained essentially a Brabanter, and Brussels was the true home of his courtly art.

The central panel and sinister wing of a triptych by him are in the Louvre. There is no doubt about their authorship, for the wing is signed "Colin de Coter painted me at Brussels in Brabant." The chief subject is a Trinity with four angels, an obvious copy of some lost original by Campin. Another copy of it is in Louvain Museum. The central group made its first appearance upon one of Campin's panels now at Frankfurt. We have already noted how Hugo van der Goes imitated it, while the free repetition in a church at Bergamo is mentioned by Friedländer as approximating in style to Colin. There is likewise a late copy in the Brussels Gallery. According to Cohen the lost wing may have contained a portrait of Mme d'Averoult before Christ, but that would not be a suitable pendant to the three weeping Maries on the wing that survives. There are strong reasons for thinking that John the Evangelist and the Mater Dolorosa were on the missing panel. Even the three women may not have been an original composition of Colin's, but the grace of the finely clothed Magdalen in front was evidently his own. He was so pleased with her and with the (assumed) corresponding figure of St. John that he repeated

them alone on another pair of wings, one formerly in the Kaufmann, the other in the Widener Collections. They are notable life-size figures ; the Magdalen with her yet richer attire and her personal charms can never have failed to arrest attention. Pictures by Netherlands painters, in which the figures are on a large scale, generally look like small pictures seen through a magnifying-glass. But Colin, like Hugo van der Goes, delighted in size for its own sake. He imagined on the larger scale. He painted monumentally and produced withal a fine effect of colour. The Kaufmann Magdalen is one of the earliest appearances in that character of the elaborate Antwerp courtesan, outcome of a rich plutocracy. During the next half-century she embraces the Cross in most Crucifixions, and brings with her into pictures masquerading as religious an incongruous and even shocking element. Here she is merely a beautiful woman, delicately distressful in her gorgeous brocades. With the change of the art-centre from Bruges to Antwerp the mediæval religious spirit passed out of Netherlandish art. It had never been very strong, not even with Memling, but typical fifteenth century artists took the mediæval ideal for granted, though without fervour. The old religious forms became a mere convention, like the shapes of the letters of the alphabet, for artists impregnated with Renaissance feeling. It was not so with Colin. The old ideal meant something to him, and he vibrated, if faintly, to the thrill which had convulsed the frames of a Bernard or a Francis.

It must be admitted that little emotion is visible in Colin's Virgin with St. Luke (Louvre) from the Church of Vieure (Allier), a picture authenticated with an inscription similar to that recorded above. It is badly composed, with evident reminiscences of Roger's popular composition, but with forms and details borrowed from Campin. The Virgin sits on a bench in front of a fireplace, like Campin's Barbara. St. Joseph is employed making mouse-traps, as with Campin, and the room-interior likewise resembles his. If St. Luke is a portrait of Colin himself he must have been over fifty years of age when he painted it. Antiquarians will be interested to note the artist's equipment : his colours in shells, his tray for brushes, his small palette, his easel, and the panel framed in advance. The extraordinary oblong-faced Child reappears in

the picture of an enthroned Virgin which was sold by Messrs. Colnaghi to an American purchaser. In this also the figures are approximately life-size, and the scene is the interior of a room so small that bed, side-table, and chair almost fill it, so that there is only just space beneath the joists overhead for the crown-holding angels to flutter in. Their facial types are reminiscent of Campin, but the Virgin's of Roger.

A pair of wings in a collection at Tourcoing console us for the absence of portraits by him. Philip the Fair and a number of men kneel on one side, Jeanne la Folle and women on the other. The women are rather attractive in their white head-dresses, but the men, with one or two exceptions, are a forbidding lot and already wear that aspect of wooden bigotry characteristic of the sixteenth century portrait-groups of religious fraternities in the Catholic Netherlands, so many of which have come down to us. In the Bruges Exhibition of 1902 a number of them were hung together in some rooms on the upper storey, where visitors seldom lingered. I well remember being taken up there one day by an eminent art-historian, now no more, who said to me: "I love to sit quietly in this room, all by myself, and to look at these likenesses of the old orthodox lot who had themselves thus painted. Bigotry stands out upon every face, and stupidity too. Could you imagine a more wooden-headed lot? As historical documents these pictures are priceless, but I wonder how the Churchmen who control this exhibition dare to exhibit them all together!"

If, as the ages of the princely pair denote, these wings were painted shortly before 1500, the striking panel [1] we have next to consider must have been painted in the early years of the sixteenth century. It shows the artist at least finding himself and no longer dependent upon Campin for ideas. It is a wing of what must have been a very fine triptych. Two beautiful figures stand side by side, simple full-lengths—St. Michael and St. Agnes—with just a glimpse of landscape between them and the decorative silhouettes of some trees against a clear sky. The whole is admirable decoration, with the vertical lines of rich and heavy draperies insisted on, and faces and hands drawn and modelled with grace and dexterity. The composition of the figures, though apparently simple,

[1] It passed through the hands of the Spanish Gallery, London.



1. ALBERT BOUTS. WORCESTER, MASS.
p. 258.



2. THE SOLOMON MASTER. AMSTERDAM.
p. 260.



3. COLIN DE COTER. MESSRS. COLNAGHI.
p. 264.



4. COLIN DE COTER. THE SPANISH GALLERY.—p. 264.

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is highly accomplished. St. Michael's morse, approximately square in shape—four semicircular lobes with a triangle between each pair—is a strange survival of a form of jewelled brooch which was fashionable among the upper classes in Merovingian days, especially along the Rhine. An equally noble St. Michael is he who weighs the souls in a great Last Judgment picture, sawn into six fragments, probably at Cologne at some unrecorded date, and scattered among several purchasers. The St. Michael is in the Virnich Collection at Bonn. St. Peter at the Gate of Heaven (below on the left) and St. John Baptist with six Apostles in the clouds (above on the right) are in the Munich Gallery, while the Hell fragment has been identified by Cohen in another private collection on the Rhine.[1] The complete picture was some ten feet high and may have been the painter's masterpiece. Probably all the fragments exist and may some day be put together again. Let us hope so. Colin would not thus have painted the subject if he had not known Roger's Beaune altar-piece. The St. Michael is closely imitated from that, but not copied. The lines of the drapery are simplified; the angel's type is Colin's own. It is permissible to wonder why the "saved" man in front should look so angrily at St. Peter, who is about to admit him to Paradise. The facial expression of men was not Colin's strong point, but the sweet lady behind makes amends.

If the crowded Descent from the Cross at Stuttgart is really by Colin, it must be the work of his last days, and consoles us for the loss of other pictures of that period. Another version was in the Museo Civico at Messina. Only the upper part of Christ's figure and the heads of His supporters are visible, and they are large and coarsely painted. The composition was perhaps generally suggested by that small crowded upright type of Descent so frequently repeated by Roger's followers. A triptych, also of the Descent, in the Brussels Gallery (No. 580), is likewise cited by Friedländer as possibly a later work of Colin's, or may more mercifully be attributed to a follower—characteristic Brabantine work, he says, of about 1515. We will not quit Colin on so depressed a level, for there still remains a notable Madonna which may be attributed to him. It belongs to Messrs. Colnaghi, to whom I

[1] *Jahrbuch Pr. Kss.*, 1910.

am indebted for an excellent photograph of it. The Virgin sits in a stone niche with her feet on a corbelled out pedestal—a sculpturesque figure as was intended. The frill round the edge of her white head-cloth is still a feature descending from Campin, and the Child's face, though not so oblong as of yore, is of the old type. The Virgin's drapery with its large sweep goes back to the Van Eycks, yet the picture is not an imitation, but a creation and one of the latest of the great school. We shall find among the early works of Massys another example to put with it, and that is all. The old ideal was wearing out. The world was desiring something fresh. Colin de Coter was not the man to supply it. He lived too late for high fame. His pictures must have become old-fashioned before they had time to grow venerable. The paintings of the great originators never wholly lost prestige. Van Eyck was always a revered name even in the seventeenth century. But Colin was bound to be soon forgotten. Not one of his great altar-pieces—and he must have painted several—has come down to us intact. We have only odd panels, separated wings, and detached fragments to judge him by. Even this last Madonna appears to have been an outside panel of a triptych. Enough, however, remains to show that Colin was a considerable personage, of large vision, some imagination, and a sense of style and dignity, conservative, reserved, unadventurous, but a sound craftsman and a serious artist. He fills an honourable though not prominent niche in the Temple of Fame.

We must deal summarily with the pupils and followers of Colin; it passes the wit of the present writer to make them interesting. In the church of St. Rombaut at Malines are a pair of panels with incidents in the life of the saint. Friedländer says that one of them was painted by the Master of the Magdalen Legend, the other by the Master of the Orsoy Altar-piece—nicknames of his invention—and that the two painters were both Brussels artists, influenced by or pupils of Colin, unless one of them was the pupil of the other. The Orsoy Altar-piece,[1] a work of the early sixteenth century, is in a church at that place near Wesel. To the same workshop he ascribes a Nativity and Circumcision in the Brussels Gallery (No. 541), both incidents included on one panel. The Nativity

[1] Düsseldorf Ex. (1904), No. 91; pl. 24 in the illustrated Memorial Volume.

and kneeling portrait of the donor are reminiscent of Van der Goes ; the Circumcision already foreshadows the style which we associate with Antwerp and particularly with that group of artists who used to be gathered together under the false name of Bles. Luckily for the donor, he had his head painted in by another and more gifted artist, who could fashion a workmanlike portrait. The rest of the picture is a mere school product, the single (and unfortunate) note of originality being in the three figures hoisted aloft on to a rickety kind of churchwarden-gothic scaffold, apparently attached only to the picture-frame ! Each figure stands on a small circular pedestal. The angel in the centre has the unfair advantage of wings to help him keep his balance, but the neatly dressed lady and gentleman beside him will surely soon become giddy and fall headlong on to the group below.

The Virgin and St. John beside the Crucifix in a picture at Oporto stand likewise upon pedestals, though far less exalted ones, forming part of the stone margin of a well-head of the Water of Life.[1] The Royalties of Portugal and their suite kneel around. As King Manuel was married in 1519 and died in 1521, the picture may be dated about 1520. It is the work of a court-painter at Brussels, and plainly shows the continuing influence of Colin.

Incidents in the Life of the Virgin and the Passion decorate eight panels in the Brussels Gallery ; they came out of the Abbey of Afflighem. Better painted, more original, and more interesting, are a pair of wings at Brussels (No. 557) belonging to a Last Judgment which is in the Ramlot Collection at Ghent. The triptych was painted for the Town Hall at Ziericzee, and shows SS. Lievin and Martin on the outsides of the wings ; on the insides full-length portraits of Philip the Fair and Jeanne la Folle. These portraits (but not the centre-piece) are attributed to the Afflighem Master, and show him to have left behind much of the Roger tradition and to have fallen under the influence of Colin de Coter. The princely pair are handsomely dressed and attractive in the glory of their youth, the date of the picture being about 1498. The landscape backgrounds have been recognized as located at Brussels. That behind the Prince is the open-air tribunal named the Burgendael, adjacent to the city walls. Vorsterman's print of 1650

[1] The picture is in the Santa Casa de Misericordia, and was published by Friedländer.

enables the site to be identified. Similarly, Sanderus' print of the same year explains the tower-like timber building within the enclosure behind the Princess. It is the summer-house, "la Folie de Feuillye," which had been made in Spain and was set up in Brussels. No nails or other ironwork were used in it. If the lower part were not hidden we could count the four storeys of the structure, and see that it stood on eighteen columns rising out of a lake. A bridge adorned with heraldic beasts like those at Hampton Court led across to it, and there were steps by which bathers could descend to the water.[1] The same building appears in the background of a design for tapestry drawn by Bernard van Orley in 1525. The drawing is in the Louvre.[2]

In a day of small things even the pictures of so second-rate an artist as the painter known as the Master of the Magdalen Legend have an interest, at least to their owners and to the historian. A considerable body of work has been identified as his, so that chance may yet reveal his name.[3] A triptych by him in the Palazzo Durazzo-Pallavicini at Genoa has for its central panel a half-length Virgin and Child with St. Francis and rather a nice village landscape as background.[4] The Child, with His oblong cheeks, shows affiliation to Colin, but the type of the group is that called "The Virgin and Child with a Flower," a type which Winkler imagines Roger to have invented. Three other examples of it by the Magdalen Master are known.[5] The first existing representative of the type is by the Westphalian "Scrolls" engraver, done before 1470; several other repetitions of it exist dating about 1510–20, the latest perhaps by Bernard van Orley (Colonna Gallery, Rome).

[1] See the illustrated volume on the Golden Fleece Exhibition (Bruges, 1907, pp. 27 ff.) and *Revue de l'Art*, September 1908. It has been suggested that Jacob van Laethem may have been the painter, and the donor Jacques van Cats, whose family patron was St. Martin. The picture was originally set up in the Tribunal of the Town Hall of Ziericzee and later moved into the church of St. Lievin. There is a copy of the wings in Amsterdam Museum.

[2] See W. A. Baillie-Grohman, *Sport in Art*, p. 73.

[3] For Friedländer's list, see *Repertorium*, xxiii, pt. iii, p. 12.

[4] Another group of the same three which was in the Bourgeois sale (1904) was wrongly attributed to this painter—probably on account of St. Francis' very pointed nose.

[5] In the Mayer van den Bergh and Wallace Collections and one sold by Böhler (a full-length).

Another type of Madonna, equally unoriginal, adopted by the Magdalen Master is that of the Virgin with the Child asleep on her arm.[1] This type we also discussed in connexion with Roger. These are not all the Magdalen Master's known Madonna pictures, but may suffice. He takes his name from a couple of panels with scenes from the legend of Mary Magdalen, which were exhibited at Bruges (1902, Nos. 282, 283), and have since changed hands. One shows the lady in her gay days, riding out a-hawking on a very wooden mount, though the painter would be much disappointed if he could hear us so describe it, for he evidently worked hard at that and the other horses. The faces lack expression and the dog is like a sheep, yet there is a pleasing sense of *joie de vivre* in the whole, and the background is charming. The companion piece, in which the converted sinner is preaching in the open air, is perfunctory as far as the figures are concerned, but again redeemed by its landscape and the ship sailing away " out into the west." [2] The frequency with which the saint was painted at this period was, as I have indicated above, a sign of the times, when there was a boom in live Magdalens. This artist was not a great portrait-painter, though a careful one. Some of his best heads appear in an excellently preserved pair of wings till recently in the possession of Messrs. Dowdeswell, the donors being identifiable as Charles le Clercq, his father Philip Annock, and the wife's deceased mother. Less excellent are the busts of a clergyman and St. Philip on a square wing which was in the Willett Collection—part of one of those memorial diptychs common at this date, especially in France.[3] From these pictures and most others of the school and period the delicacy of the old art has passed. They are painted heavily and summarily. The broad treatment of the seventeenth century is foreshadowed. The old enamel surface could not be produced in this fashion, nor was it asked for. It was only proper to the small, jewel-like, highly finished panels of the Van Eyck school. Work done on a larger scale called for a new technique. The days

[1] Peltzer sale (Amsterdam, 1914), No. 2.

[2] The Budapest " Supper at Simon's " attributed to this artist was, in my opinion, painted by the Alkmaar Master.

[3] In Wauter's catalogue of the Brussels Gallery the du Quesnoy triptych is attributed to a Master of the Magdalen Legend, but this cannot be the same painter as Friedländer's Master of that name.

were passing when patrons would pay an artist to spend five years on a single picture. Quicker handling and correspondingly lower prices per square foot were a sign of developing, or at least changing, technical processes, though a long journey had to be made between Van Eyck and Rembrandt. Those interested in painters' methods and their evolution will find even in the indifferent work of sixteenth century artists a fruitful subject of study. Such matters lie outside the province of the amateur. If he cares about pictures for the sake of their beauty, he will not linger unduly over the work of the Master of the Magdalen Legend.

A Nativity in the Brussels Gallery is worth a moment's notice. The figures are treated as mere decorative patches—an angel planted in the midst for the sake of a pair of wings symmetrically raised as a central pattern, the other figures balanced to right and left against one another, posed and related not unskilfully, but void of emotion. A garden with formal beds shows through the Annunciation windows and there are monograms in the leaded glass, but whether the artist's or the donor's is not ascertained. Louvain and Brussels pictures of this date often display such window-glass monograms. The extreme length and slenderness of the saintesses on the outside of the wings is noteworthy as a sign of the times, and they may be compared in this respect with some on a sheet of drawings which was in the Von Lanna Collection.[1]

A painter, not, I believe, a Netherlander, may here find brief mention. He can be recognized by the astonishing display he makes with hands and fingers. They stick out all over his composition, and he gives immense pains to the finish of every nail and knuckle. Such, at all events, is the prominent characteristic of his Louvre picture of an Ecclesiastic Preaching. He stands on a skeleton pulpit, in the porch of a church. What his small audience lacks in numbers it makes up for in enthusiasm and good looks, at least in the case of two ladies who appear to have gone to a goldsmith for their hats and to a very expensive dressmaker for their clothes. The menfolk closely surrounding them are of a respectable antiquity, but there are some younger sparks in the background, and a rather sly humorist of a boy peeping out from the church door. The same horribly sanctimonious

[1] Albertina publication, No. 1292.

preacher, I believe, reappears coming along the street which leads away off to the Church of St. Gudule. Were it not for the presence of this church—is it really St. Gudule's ?—no one would have called this a Brussels picture, but looked for its author somewhere in the North of France, perhaps as far away as Amiens. M. de Mély, having read upon the collar of the kneeling man in front the decorative letters " Apelli Vitali," rushes to the conclusion that this is the artist's signature, and that he was an Italian. There is, however, no Italian element in his art. The same artist must have been the painter of a delightful little half-length portrait of a man which is at Woerlitz. He is seen through a round arched window with a coat-of-arms over his head. Behind him, we look into the interior of a church where a priest is elevating the Host. A copy with many changes in colours and accessories is in the National Gallery (Salting Collection). It is inscribed on the frame, " Lovis XI Roy de France." Its painter has misunderstood the badly-drawn half-opened book in the original, and has made of it a nondescript object which would be very puzzling if we did not know what it is he was trying to reproduce. The man in the Woerlitz picture is not Louis XI, though ugly enough for him. The painter was probably a Frenchman.

We may fitly conclude this sketch of the work of second-rate Brabantine painters with a glance at what has recently been revealed about Goswin van der Weyden, Roger's grandson. His principal activity was not in Brussels, but Antwerp. In fact, he painted the first sixteenth century Antwerp picture of which the date is certainly known. His rediscovery is due to the labours of Professor Hulin, and the paragraphs that follow are little more than a brief abstract of papers published by him. The student desiring completer information will, of course, refer to them in the pages of the *Burlington Magazine*[1] and the *Annual* of the Prussian Museums.[2] The chief pictures attributed to Goswin, though not of the first rank, had long been recognized as of some importance, and obviously painted by a master who must have enjoyed repute in his day. The known outlines of his life are as follows. He was born in or shortly before 1465, probably at Brussels. His father, Peter, was a member of the painters' guild,

[1] October 1912, p. 26 ; November 1914, p. 71.

[2] 1913, pp. 59–88.

and may have taught Goswin his craft. We first hear of the latter as living at Lierre and painting organ-shutters in 1492 for the collegiate church of St. Gummaire. He seems to have resided in that place till 1498. Then, or in the following year, he moved on to Antwerp, and in 1503 bought a house close to Quentin Massys. Both men were Brabanters, from Brussels and Louvain respectively, cities closely related in artistic matters; so the fellow-provincials may well have been drawn together. Goswin at once experienced the influence of his great contemporary, and showed it in his work. If he had not much to give he had a great deal to receive. Before long he began to occupy official positions in the Antwerp Guild, and his activity and prosperity may be measured by the fact that he received no less than ten apprentices in twenty years. From 1499 till his death soon after 1538 he was much employed by the Abbey of Tongerloo. He even occupied the position of Keeper of its town-house in Antwerp, and acted there as a sort of agent to the Abbots.

The picture to which we must now turn was painted for the said Abbey and set up in 1505. It is thus, as above remarked, the earliest known dateable picture painted in Antwerp in the sixteenth century—earlier than the large dated altar-piece of Quentin, though of course not earlier than some of the fine series of works by that great master, which, though not dated, may assuredly be placed chronologically before those that are. The picture in question was an altar-piece of the four-panel type, but double-storeyed, so that, when the wings were opened back flat, eight equal panels appeared, four in a row above the other four. Seven of these still exist and were till a few years ago in the possession of the Abbey. They then passed into the hands of Messrs. F. Muller & Co., of Amsterdam, for sale.

Hulin discovers in them evidences both of a Brussels tradition and of the influence of Quentin. They illustrate in an entertaining narrative fashion, after the established Brussels manner, incidents in the legend of St. Dymphna, a local saint of supposed Irish extraction. The text of her legend had been published at Antwerp by the printer Back in 1496, and may have guided the artist in his selection of subjects and their design. Hulin points out the simple naturalism of the landscapes, devoid of over-abrupt rocks

and wide expanses of distance. Not in them shall we find much evidence of Antwerp influences. Some of the figure-types recur in the Mannerists' pictures to be considered below, and here and there a leg is pushed forward or a knee bent with a little unnecessary prominence. There is also some tendency to multiply gestures and the by-play of subordinate characters, but this is not Mannerism. That consisted in a particular spirit of restlessness and strain, which shall be more completely defined and discussed hereafter. It is enough here to note that Goswin cannot have been the founder of that style.

The various panels of the Dymphna altar-piece can never have formed a decorative whole. The mere equality and rectangular combination of them show how completely the decorative Gothic sense had departed. Gothic altar-pieces of the central period were designed under the traditions of architecture. As the fifteenth century passed we can observe the gradual evaporation of the architectural tradition. In the four-panel altar-pieces—still more emphatically in this eight-panel example—no trace of architectural structure survives. The panels are like so many independent pictures hung as close together as possible on the walls of a picture gallery. Their dismemberment in the eighteenth century must have been more beneficial than harmful to their effect. When they were painted the habit of book-illustration had become fixed. The public were accustomed to the idea of illustrating a printed tale or poem with prints. The fine edition of Olivier de la Marche's *Chevalier délibéré*, published at Schiedam between 1498 and 1500, marked an important stage in the development of the illustrated book. Goswin's panels are like so many book-illustrations. They contain narrative pictures as much intended to relate the story as were, for instance, the couple of dozen woodcuts wherewith the Schiedam printer accompanied the text of the Life of Liedwy, which he issued in 1498. Illustration is a legitimate form of art, but not the highest form. Composition must be subordinate to lucidity. The old religious round of subjects had in a sense been illustrations, but by frequent repetition the need for lucidity had passed, and in the best days of mediæval Christian art pictures were primarily decorative. Every spectator knew the meaning of the subjects, and did not need a lucid exposition

of them. It was enough if the composition served as a reminder. But such pictures as these of the Dymphna legend must needs tell their tale. That was the painter's primary business, and the paintings must be judged accordingly. The nearer they come to actual depiction of incidents in everyday life the better are they. That of the two spies bribing the innkeeper's wife really entertains us, because it shows the people of the artist's own day amid their ordinary surroundings. Peter Bruegel would have painted the subject much better, but it is a subject he might have chosen. The almost exactly contemporary Seven Works of Mercy by the Master of Alkmaar are of this kind and approximately on Goswin's level. Both artists were unconsciously feeling their way into the new world of everyday, in which painters were presently to find as much to kindle their imaginations as their predecessors had found among the dwellers in the Kingdom of Heaven.

The Dymphna panels are attributed to Goswin because they were painted at a time when he is known to have been employed by Tongerloo Abbey, and because we know of no other painter to whom they can be attributed with any like probability; but there exists a picture painted between the years 1511 and 1515 which records prove to have been his handiwork. It is a Madonna with donors now in the Berlin Museum (No. 526). Its purpose was to commemorate a donation of lands at Calmpthout, made as far back as the thirteenth century. A first glance at the picture is disturbing, for to whatever extent the actual technique may suggest an early sixteenth century hand—and it did, in fact, strike Hulin as the work of a contemporary of Quentin Massys before he knew anything whatever about the history of the picture—the design is obviously neither of that date nor of the thirteenth century, but of about the year 1450. In the centre we have a full-length Virgin of so exactly Roger van der Weyden's type that he must surely have designed it. A brocaded dorser (which Hulin identifies as borrowed from Quentin) hangs behind her. Donors kneel on either hand. A knight on our left with a tabard over his armour is very like Sir Philip Hinckert in the Roger-school picture once in the Crews Collection; on the right is a lady closely corresponding in costume, pose, and feeling to the donoress on the Roger-school wings of 1451 described in a previous chapter.



1. A BRABANT MASTER. COLL. GOLDSCHMIDT. p. 261.



2. THE AFFLIGHEM MASTER. JEANNE LA FOLLE (1498). BRUSSELS.—p. 267.



3. THE MAGDALEN MASTER. MESSRS. DOWDESWELL.—p. 269.



4. GOSWIN VAN DER WEYDEN. BLAKESLEE SALE.—p. 275.

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A votive picture of like design and mid-fifteenth century date is in the Kunstliefde Museum at Utrecht,[1] the donor there being one Rues van Haemstede. The Berlin picture, therefore, is either a copy of one painted by Roger, or it was designed by Goswin strictly on the lines of a similar work by his grandfather. It is unfortunate that the single documentarily authenticated work by Goswin should be of this character. The only contemporary features are the bits of landscape, the foreground trees, and the additional donor on the left with his upturned face and enthusiastic expression, in marked contrast to the stolidity of the donors of the older school; these features, however, sufficed to enable Hulin to recognize several other works as by the same artist, but the promised proofs are not yet forthcoming.[2]

A third picture which groups well enough with these two was sold in New York at the Blakeslee sale in 1915 (No. 70). It depicts the kindred of Christ,[3] and does so with considerable originality and charm. The children are playing about the knees of the Virgin and St. Joseph, who sit in a very plain room with a landscape of Goswin's style visible through a window. The rather peculiar sleeve of the Virgin's dress was designed by the same costumier as the sleeve worn by one of the girls in a roundel of the Prodigal Son at Basle—a picture placed by Friedländer in his B group of Antwerp Mannerists—and in a picture by Bernard van Orley. At a time when feminine fashions were quickly changing, this identity indicates for the pictures a common date, probably before 1510.

Other pictures attributed to Goswin are an Adoration of the Magi in Buckingham Palace, a half-length Virgin at Hampton Court, a triptych which passed through the De Somzée and Hoe sales (Phot. Hanfstangl, No. 1089), a Martyrdom of St. George in the Kestner Museum at Hanover,[4] a St. Catherine triptych in the Cook Collection at Richmond, and the Colibrant triptych

[1] Reproduced in Martin's *Altholländ. Malerei*, Leipzig, 1912.

[2] They were to be published in a second article in the Prussian Museums Annual, but the War no doubt prevented its appearance.

[3] I have to thank Mr. T. E. Kirby of the American Art Association for a photograph of this picture.

[4] *Monatshefte f. K.*, vi, pt. 12. The reasons for the attribution of this picture to Goswin are by me undiscoverable.

at Lierre. These attributions are highly tentative, and we remain in the dark as to the arguments by which Hulin hoped to attach to our painter the very important Colibrant triptych. His attribution of the Cook triptych was, however, definite. The Colibrant triptych of the Marriage of the Virgin, with the Annunciation and Presentation on the wings, was in the church at Lierre before the War. That was a very considerable work of no little merit, and its date is approximately 1515–17. The figures are balanced and dignified; costume is subordinated to humanity, not the wearer to the costume; the spacious architectural background is the actual interior of Lierre Church, containing the sumptuous stone screen which was its glory till the War overwhelmed it in common ruin with the church (*Burlington Mag.*, Nov. 1914, p. 655.)

Though most of these pictures are not united by any strong common bond of style, we may yet be willing to admit them as the possible work of a single artist, who down to the year 1517 remained free of Antwerp mannerism; but the St. Catherine in the Cook Collection and the Hoe triptych stand in a category by themselves. We cannot insert them at any point among the rest, so that if they are the work of Goswin they must have been painted after 1517. In both, but especially in the St. Catherine, Mannerism is prominent. The saint, indeed, a full-length figure, shows some restraint of tradition. Her costume is of fifteenth century fashion, and so is her facial type, but every other face and figure in the picture looks all the more modern by contrast. They are of new types. Many of the heads are bald or have a curious look of baldness, though enveloped in cap or turban. There is a man with a long swallow-tail beard of a kind common in pictures by the Mannerists. Architecture tends to be elaborate and fussy. Subordinate characters are all occupied—talking, arguing, or reading together—and the landscapes are no longer simple. I find it far from easy to accept these pictures as by the same hand as the rest, but Hulin seems to be assured of the identity; we must await the full publication of his researches for satisfaction of our doubts. In any case, if Goswin did become affected by Mannerism it was a late phase with him and one which he owed to surrounding influences, not to his own spontaneous invention.

CHAPTER XX

GERARD DAVID

Gerard, son of John, son of David of Oudewater (as his rediscoverer Weale called him), generally named Gerard David for short, was a Dutchman. As an artist, however, he is chief representative, not of the Dutch, but of the Bruges School after the death of Memling. He was born at Oudewater, near Gouda, in Holland, some time before 1460, and came to Bruges as a formed artist in 1483. On the following January 14th he was admitted a master-painter in the Bruges Guild. It can scarcely be doubted that he learned his art in Haarlem in the studio of Ouwater, and that Geertgen was his fellow-pupil.[1] There is by him in the Dublin Gallery, painted at the culmination of his career, a figure of Christ (half of a composition of Christ taking leave of His Mother), which is copied from the Christ in Ouwater's Raising of Lazarus, a picture probably painted about 1470 or even a little later, the very time when David would have been Ouwater's pupil. As for David's relation to his fellow-pupil and contemporary, Geertgen, a picture which was in Sir Charles Turner's collection [2] may throw some light on that. It used to be attributed to Geertgen himself or called a copy after a lost picture by him. The subject is connected with the Legend of St. Dominic and his distribution of rosaries. Resemblances to Geertgen are easily discoverable, but several of the types differ from his. In particular there are two heads on the right, one of a girl partly shrouded in a white headcloth, the other of a man, and they resemble heads seen in pictures by David and nowhere else. If the reader will compare this picture with the pair of wings in Antwerp admittedly by David, he will find points of similarity. I will mention only the hands,

[1] I wonder whether Geertgen was called "little Gerard" to distinguish him from this other painter Gerard, his contemporary.

[2] Sold by auction at Berlin in 1908.

where the depressions between the fingers are carried down the back almost to the wrist. The composition cannot have been David's, but the actual painting unites some of the characteristics of both the young artists and suggests an early mutual influence or co-operation. David's Dutch education is apparent in a triptych the centre-piece of which, with the Nailing of Christ to the Cross, is in the Layard Collection at the National Gallery, and the aforesaid wings, with the holy women and other onlookers, at Antwerp. This is the earliest generally accepted picture by him. It is interesting rather than beautiful, and fuller of promise than performance. We need not delay over it.

E. von Bodenhausen's excellent and scholarly book on David renders any lengthy discussion of his work here superfluous. That book has taken its place as authoritative and includes in its catalogue most of the master's known pictures. Others identified later on are discussed in an article by Bodenhausen and Valentiner in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* (May 1911). A revised list has recently been issued by Friedländer.[1] Bodenhausen's book contains all the references the student will require, especially those to Weale's first publication of his various discoveries in archives recording facts relating to David. We may therefore deal here in the briefest manner with the known events of his life.

Soon after his arrival in Bruges he attained a good position in the town and, in and after 1488, office in the Guild. In 1496 he married Cornelia, daughter of Jacob Cnoop, a prominent local goldsmith. In 1508 he joined the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Dry Tree, at the head of which was the Duke, while the members were for the most part nobles and leading citizens. 1509 is the date of the Rouen altar-piece which David painted and presented to the Carmelite nuns of Sion in Bruges. In 1515 he joined the Antwerp Guild, whether merely on the occasion of a visit for some special purpose or with the idea of settling in that increasingly prosperous art-centre; in any case he remained resident at Bruges and died there in 1523, leaving behind him an unmarried daughter.

Three Nativities (at Budapest, in the Kaufmann Collection, and in private possession in Paris), a pair of wings with saints in

[1] *Von Eyck bis Bruegel* (Berlin, 1916). See also Winkler in *Monatshefte f. K.*, 1913, p. 272.

the Kaufmann Collection, and the Sedano triptych in the Louvre are characteristic early works. Of the three Nativities, the Paris example comes first.[1] It is pure Haarlem work, very simple in composition, the Virgin of Geertgen's earliest type (compare his Brunswick diptych), the kneeling angels like his in the Amsterdam Nativity. The only original touch is the shepherd boy looking in at the doorway of the roofless building. Slightly more advanced is the Budapest picture, in which the boy has come further forward, the angels turn their very Dutch backs upon us, and an elaborate landscape fills the distance. A similar Virgin, similar angels and landscape reappear in the Kaufmann version, but the other figures are different, and the shepherd boy is now, I think, a portrait of the young artist himself. Joseph has become a clean-shaven person in whose portrait-like head some friend of the artist may be commemorated. The two landscapes are interesting. They include a curious circular building surrounded by flying buttresses which David introduced into some of his backgrounds to the end of his days ; it was borrowed from him by other artists. There is nothing to show that any of these Nativities was painted after he left Holland. In style they are Dutch. But when we come to the little Kaufmann wings, we find David beginning to study the Van Eycks, for the wooded background behind John the Baptist is imitated from a wing of the Adoration of the Lamb. Friedländer points out that the Child in the Sedano triptych in the Louvre, another early work, must have been suggested by John van Eyck's infant Christ in the Paele Madonna, while in a somewhat later version of the same composition (Coll. J. G. Johnson, No. 329) and in other pictures the carpet is also taken from the same source ; but he fails to observe that in both cases the harping and luting angels come out of Campin's Virgin of Salamanca.[2] In the Louvre picture David also borrows the general arrangement, as well as the little cherubs aloft holding festoons, from Memling's picture in the Uffizi, the angels in which likewise descend from Campin, but David went back to the original source for them.

[1] In 1874 this was in the Collection of the Duc de Galliera, Phot. Braun, 16361.

[2] Bodenhausen and Valentiner also ascribe to David's early period a roundel of the Virgin and Child in the J. G. Johnson Collection, which is copied from an often-repeated type invented by Campin.

Thus in his earliest period we find our artist indebted to the Van Eycks, Campin, and Memling, beside his Dutch masters. Moreover, he does not merely learn from his predecessors by study of their methods, but takes forms, figures, arrangements, and even details directly from them. He is more than influenced by them; he is a confessed borrower. Later on he similarly borrowed from Roger, the Bruges Lucia Master, and three Netherlands engravers —the Master of Zwolle, W♣, and the Master of the Playing Cards. It is evident, therefore, that originality in composition was not his strong point. We have already seen that a lack of it is characteristic of the whole Netherlandish school at this time.

If David had not possessed countervailing merits of his own, we need not have further concerned ourselves with him and his work, but that he did possess such merits is proved by the desire of every gallery to possess his pictures, the prices paid for them, and the honour in which they are hung. In the early group under consideration the charm is present, and it is independent of borrowing; it is David's own. I think that the essential element in this charm is the painter's genuineness. He was old-fashioned, but genuinely so. It was not a pose. He was constitutionally religious. One might imagine him at home with the Brethren of the Common Life or any of the mystic fellowships whose days of vitality were coming to an end when David was born. The atmosphere of his pictures is like that of *The Imitation of Christ*. David was the only Northern artist who ever painted a St. Francis at all acceptably. The little wing picture of the Stigmatization is almost credible. The painter felt and rendered something of the ecstasy of the Saint. In face and figure he is wholly wrapt up in his vision. The contrast between him and the unfelt John the Baptist on the pendant is remarkable. The latter is a mere emblem, emotionless, meaningless. The former is intoxicated with God. David's nature seems to me to have been a deeper one than Memling's. There is much in common in the spirit of their art, but Memling, for all his dexterous and pleasant handling, is more superficial, more like a man who adapts himself, easily and naturally enough, yet still adapts himself, to the taste of the little society for whom he worked. David needed no adaptation. He painted what and how he really liked to paint. Memling's best pictures are his

portraits. David painted few portraits except of devotional donors. Friedländer attributes to him the half-length likeness of an ecclesiastic, with the towers of Bruges in the background, which has long been a puzzle in the National Gallery. Possibly the portrait of Joos Van der Burg on the diptych in the Fogg Museum at Cambridge, Mass., dated 1496, may also be his. I have not seen it. The Virgin and Child are copied from Roger's St. Luke. The landscape background is in David's style, and the notable gravity of the worshipping donor and of his gaunt-faced patron, St. Jodoc, is in the reverent spirit of our artist.[1]

With his conservative religious tendencies, David had no temptation to devise original treatments for the round of sacred subjects he had to paint. To borrow was but to follow the good old tradition. What David did not and could not have borrowed was the reverential mood that governed his hand. Forms and details he could pick up here and there as he saw what pleased him, but his art was not in the forms. Its vitality was deep within himself. Alike in the *naïveté* of his earliest works and the complete harmony and expressiveness of the later, the spirit is the same. A single pure and simple character is behind them all. It follows that the handiwork of the man is of a piece with his nature. We need not look to him for technical innovations nor fear to be put off with a slipshod technique. There is nothing cheap about David's art. If half a hundred or more of his pictures have survived the misuse of men through half a thousand years it is because their maker was a thoroughly sound and conscientious craftsman. His methods were those of the Van Eycks, and of the best of their successors throughout the fifteenth century. All that was personal to him about them was his selection and combination of colours. His best pictures have a richness all their own. Later, under the influence of Quentin Massys, he adopted a lighter chord. Whether we care for the ideal that he expressed or not, no one can help enjoying the æsthetic pleasure his works yield to the eye. It is reposed and comforted when turned upon them and away from the discords of normal surroundings.

In 1488 David's position was so assured in Bruges that the

[1] The top of David's favourite circular buttressed building can be seen at the foot of Calvary in the landscape.

magistrates entrusted him with a commission to paint two Justice pictures commemorative of "the execution of the judge Peter Lanchals and other members of the late administration, who, having been found guilty of corruption and malversation, had been condemned to death." The paintings were to show Sisamnes arrested by Cambyses, and Sisamnes being flayed alive. Poor David! No subjects could have been less in his line, for he was not a dramatic artist. He went slowly to work, took ten years over the job, and no doubt had the assistance of learned persons. He acquitted himself well enough with the first picture, and even makes us feel the cold perspiration breaking out on the unjust judge's head as the king upbraids him; but the second is purely horrible. Ill-informed persons have praised it as a careful study from nature, imagining that a human skin could thus be detached exactly as one skins a rabbit! But it cannot. David, luckily for him even in that day of horrors, had never watched a man being flayed alive. He had to do the best he could with what was to be seen at a butcher's. He tried to supply what was asked of him. There is something hideously practical in the way the victim is fastened to the operating-table. Perhaps the local torture-chambers supplied that idea. But it is all too dreadful to dwell on, and David must have been as glad as we are to turn from the disgusting business. Here also, by the by, he used again Memling's cherubs and festoons, beside introducing as bas-reliefs two enlargements of famous antique gems, one the well-known Medicean Apollo and Marsyas, a copy of which is worn by Botticelli's fair Florentine lady with the golden hair in the Städel Gallery at Frankfurt.

Among the pictures painted by David before 1500 must be reckoned the Munich Adoration of the Magi which Friedländer identified (by comparing it with an inferior copy at Berlin) as an imitation of a lost original by Van der Goes. The date of another Magi picture by David at Brussels can be roughly inferred from the fact, observed by Weale, that a miniature copy of it appears in a manuscript which had already arrived in Spain in 1497. A Pietà in the J. G. Johnson Collection carries on the Roger tradition; the wings belonging to it are in the Collection of Mr. Philip Lehman of New York. It shows the artist's growing ability, especially

in the treatment of landscape, and will serve to introduce us to the culminating period of his artistic career. The Annunciation on the outsides of the wings was to be developed by him later in another version. In the earlier the form of the panels necessitated simple standing postures for both figures, but in the Sigmaringen panels he gave to Gabriel drapery agitated by swift movement and a more commanding gesture of the hand. At Frankfurt is a good studio picture of the same subject, probably designed by him, which is yet further developed.

In David's mature period he painted on a larger scale. His altar-piece in the Bruges Museum is a good example of his accomplishment at this time. The donor was John des Trompes, who is introduced on one wing with his boy; his first wife, Elizabeth van der Meersch, and their four daughters face him on the other. As she died in 1502 the centre panel, with the Baptism and the insides of the wings, must have been painted by that date. The outsides were added later, but before 1510, seeing that they bear a Virgin and Child adored by Magdalena Cordier, the second wife, who died in that year. The Baptism is remarkable for its extensive and elaborate landscape, and specially for the carefully studied ripples on the water and their reticulation by reflexion from the banks—proof that David went to Nature and not only to previous landscape painters for ideas. The ivy climbing up a tree trunk, the accurately depicted flowers, the air perspective, and other features confirm this observation. David brought his landscape style with him from Holland. Two of his early Nativities contain extensive landscapes, and prove that he possessed a sketchbook of studies from nature. In the background of the Budapest picture is a charming mediæval village, obviously from a sketch. There is also high up on the right a bit of cliff of horizontally stratified rock, which must actually have been seen and noted. He repeated the village in the Kaufmann Nativity, and much later in the National Gallery Adoration of the Magi. The rock-cliff, but rising out of grass at a low level, reappears in the Kaufmann Nativity. The kind of rocks thus adopted by David are found in his landscapes to the end. He never made them overhang, nor did he develop them fantastically like most Flemish painters of his and the next generation. He did not find these rocks at

Haarlem; he must have seen them on his way through a hilly district. The nearest approach to them in an earlier picture are those in the Van Eyck St. Francis, but they are not the same. David was fond of wide sloping or gently domed areas of meadow. His distant hills are vaguer and more bathed in air than, for instance, Bouts'. The skyline is sometimes very soft, outlining distant hills in successive ranges melting away behind one another, as for instance in the National Gallery St. Jerome (No. 2596), a work of the artist's last years. In depicting trees and woods he advanced beyond his predecessors. If he took a hint from the dense background of a wing of the Adoration of the Lamb he worked out the suggestion in the presence of nature. He thronged his trees together and introduced figures among them in the shade. He found delight in varieties of foliage and different habits of growth. A good example of his accomplishment in this kind is the wood in the middle distance behind Salviati in the National Gallery wing, or that behind the Virgin and Child in the picture in the Stoop Collection.

The Marriage at Cana in the Louvre was painted about 1503 or a little later for the same John de Sedano above mentioned.[1] The view through the window includes "the old palace of the Liberty of Bruges, the church of St. Donatian, and some of its dependent buildings," as they appeared at the time from the porch of St. Basil's, in which church the Confraternity of the Holy Blood had their chapel. It is evident that the personages in the Cana picture were studied from life. We fortunately possess a few fragments of one of David's sketchbooks containing such studies. They were in the Von Lanna Collection, and one is now in the Städel Institute. That includes the likeness of the bride, but not in the position finally adopted for her.[2]

The Virgo inter Virgines at Rouen (of 1509) and the Marriage of St. Catherine in the National Gallery are important pictures of David's best period. The former, as aforesaid, was painted for the

[1] John de Sedano joined the Guild of the Holy Blood in 1503, so the picture cannot have been painted earlier.

[2] *Burlington Mag.*, May 1908, p. 155. Another drawing at Frankfurt is attributed to David by Winkler, but to Bouts by the Museum authorities. It is more like the work of David than Bouts, but is it by either?

Carmelite Nuns, the latter for Richard de Visch van der Capelle, Cantor of St. Donatian's.[1] They are among our artist's most beautiful works. In a corner of the Rouen picture David has introduced his own portrait, identified as such by an inscribed drawing of it at Arras. In type and expression it agrees perfectly with the self-revelation of the pictures themselves. Some of the saints and angels around the Virgin are beautiful women, and one is certainly the prettiest in any primitive Netherlands picture. The general arrangement of the composition is borrowed from that very dull work the Altar-piece of the Drie Sanctinnen by the Bruges Lucia Master. In it Catherine's wheels are woven into the pattern of the brocade of her dress; here they are set as ornaments in her crown, and Barbara wears her tower in like fashion—an ingenious way of introducing emblems.

In the Munich Gallery, in that of the Academy of St. Luke at Rome, and in the Arco-Valley and von Heyl Collections are associated versions of the Virgo inter Virgines. Bodenhausen thinks that behind them all is a lost original by David. He points out that the Buckingham Palace picture, already noticed by us (p. 252), painted by a Bruges artist about 1480, represents a yet earlier lost original to which (or to this very repetition of it) David was indebted. The Roman picture stands nearest to this earlier version, especially in the landscape; the Munich example is closest to David. The subject was one peculiarly suited to the gifts and preferences of David and his followers. The Child on the Virgin's lap in the Roman altar-piece is fingering a bunch of grapes. David was so pleased with this innovation that he employed it again in the Rest by the Way in the J. P. Morgan Collection and in the Madonna-panel of the Genoa triptych (Palazzo Brignole Sale). The former picture is representative of an attractive group of Madonnas in which the landscape is a more important element than ever before in Madonnas of the school. Examples that may be cited are those belonging to the Frank Stoop and Nemes Collections. They were evidently popular works, and

[1] His cantor's staff lies beside him on the ground; it was given to St. Donatian's in 1337 (*Beffroi*, i, p. 337). Few cantors' staves have come down to us. That which belonged to the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris is in the Cabinet des Médailles, the head of it being an antique chalcedony bust of a Roman emperor in a fourteenth century setting. Another (of the thirteenth century) was in the Magniac sale.

were frequently imitated or repeated in the Master's own studio.[1] Patinir and painters of his group developed the type by greatly reducing the scale of the figures and enlarging the scope of the landscape, so that it became the real subject, the figures mere accessories.

A striking picture of St. Michael and the dragon is at Vienna (No. 626). It is highly finished on a small scale (66 × 53 cm.). The devils do not show the inventive ingenuity of Jerome Bosch, but they are reduced to a proper insignificance by the beauty of the archangel and the fine sweep of his drapery. They resemble the devils in the Ars Moriendi block-book. The design is based on a lost engraving by the Master of the Playing Cards, known to us from a pen-and-ink copy in the British Museum.[2] It is interesting to observe that the paintings on the outsides of the wings recall the style of David's old fellow-pupil Geertgen in one of his earliest works—the Brunswick diptych. On the insides of the wings are St. Jerome and St. Anthony of Padua. The former almost exactly reproduces the same figure on one of the panels at Genoa, now framed in a triptych with the above-mentioned Virgin and Child with the Grapes. All three panels belonged to a larger composition. The St. Anthony reappears among the panels of the St. Anne altar-piece, which is now broken up and scattered. That figure was suggested by an engraving of St. Augustine by the Master of Zwolle. It should also be mentioned that David found St. Michael's crosier in one of Martin Schongauer's prints. The three great panels in the Widener Collection with St. Anne, St. Nicholas, and St. Anthony of Padua are the largest and emptiest works by David. Six small panels with illustrations of the legends of those saints, which are in the Wantage Collection and belong to the same altar-piece, show how much happier he was when working on a small scale. A panel of the Pietà, which passed through the Nemes Collection to somewhere in America, also belonged to the same polyptych, and there may have been more

[1] Repetitions of the whole with slight changes belong to the Pablo Bosch and Antwerp Galleries. A half-length replica of the Bosch Virgin with a different background is in the possession of Messrs. Agnew. These come very close indeed to the Master's own handiwork, and he probably sold them out of his studio. He may have painted on all of them himself.

[2] Reproduced in the *Berlin Jahrbuch*, xviii, p. 46.

beside. The Wantage pictures show David at his best as a narrative painter. The puzzled father of three dowerless girls, the reverent donkey, and St. Anthony's Fish-congregation are rendered with the naïve good faith essential to the proper telling of fairy-tales. Such pictures, brightly coloured, would still be the joy of any nursery.

At Bruges no artist might paint pictures who was not a member of the painters' guild, nor miniatures unless he belonged to the guild of miniaturists. Weale has shown that Gerard David belonged to both and was the first considerable painter of whom that was true. His wife also was a chartered miniaturist. Can we find any work of this kind ascribable to either ? Three miniatures, framed as a triptych, and said to have come out of the Abbey of the Dunes, were shown at the Bruges Exhibition in 1902 (No. 130). Mr. Weale discovered and attributed them to Cornelia Cnoop upon the authority of an old inscription written on the back. The Virgin and Child are copied from the Nemes Madonna, with a landscape background which reappears on a page of Binnink's *Heures dites de Hennesey.* It includes the château of Louis de Gruuthuuse at Oostcamp near Bruges. Technically, it is on a level with many of the pages in the Grimani Breviary and associated manuscripts. The search for manuscripts in the decoration of which David may have taken part has been hotly pursued.[1] The latest choice has fallen on some miniatures in the Breviary of Isabella of Spain in the British Museum (Add. MS. 1851), where the Magi miniature is a version of David's copy of the lost Van der Goes and the Nativity recalls his early painting now at Budapest. At what period of his life is David likely to have painted two miniatures which in style group themselves with his own paintings of different dates in his career ? If the John at Patmos is added a third style must have been employed simultaneously with the other two. If, however, we attribute these miniatures to followers the difficulty vanishes. David's designs and types were frequently copied by miniaturists of the partnership which co-operatively produced such famous manuscripts as the Venice Grimani Breviary, the Vienna *Hortulus animae*, and others of that well-defined group of late fifteenth and early sixteenth

[1] See *Monatshefte f. K.*, 1913, p. 274.

century date; but it does not follow that David was head of the workshop that contracted to make them. The Horebouts, the Benninks, and other important recorded miniaturists have to be remembered, and they may have repeated David's types without being in his employ.

A near approach to a miniature by David, in scale and style, though not in technique, is to be found in a pair of small, finely painted diptychs with equal claim to genuineness and closely alike in subject. One is included in the Van Gelder Collection, the other in the National Museum at Munich. As works of art they are superior to any of the miniatures, all of which lack the quality of spontaneousness and pictorial invention with which these little panels are instinct. Equally fine and finished is another little painting, now in the New York Museum. It is a late work approximating in style to the Descent from the Cross presently to be referred to. It shows Christ taking leave of the Holy Women, and is a tenderly pathetic rendering of a subject which to David at any rate was not hackneyed. He did not feel called upon to depict a passionate and gesticulating grief such as presently was to become popular—the noisier the less convincing. These people are gravely sad, yet make their passion felt. Any similar emotional expression in figures drawn on a large scale was impossible to David, nor indeed could he imagine the majestic in any form, as his heads of Christ in the Johnson and Schickler Collections amply prove. He was at home in a world of humility and gentleness; and it is in such a picture as that of the Holy Family belonging to M. Martin Le Roy (Paris), where little more than the three heads are shown, that he attracts our admiration—almost our affection.

When, in 1515, David had his name inscribed in the books of the Antwerp Guild, he must have spent or intended to spend some time in that busy and progressive city. He will have found many of the artists there impregnated with ideals different from his own and striving to attain novel effects that cannot have appealed to him as very desirable. It is evident, however, that he felt the influence of the place and especially of his great contemporary Quentin Massys, who was at work there exciting the admiration and emulation of his fellows. The Le Roy picture

betrays this influence, though David did not have to borrow from Massys the motive of the kiss. That, as we know, had been used by followers of Van der Weyden. Large heads of the kind had been painted by Memling and another artist whose picture is in the J. G. Johnson Collection (No. 341) and others were made by Mostaert.[1] More obviously diverted by Antwerp pressure is a half-length Virgin and Child in the Traumann Collection, whereof there are variations or copies in the de Forest Collection at New York, at Brussels and Strasburg, and in the Palazzo Brignole Sale at Genoa, beside others that have passed through the sale-room in recent years. The type is vulgarly called the "Soup Madonna," because the Virgin is feeding the Child with a spoon from a bowl on the table before her. This domestic incident of homely character was very modern, very *Art nouveau* in its day; it evidently hit the popular taste. The Virgin's type approximates to that of the ladies as afterwards painted again and again in various characters by Ambrose Benson, the Master called of the Half Lengths, and Joos van Cleef. Antwerp influence is again observable in a Virgin with Saints belonging to the New York Historical Society. Here the landscape is of novel character for David. It is one of those very extensive landscapes full of detail and incident which we associate with the name of Joachim de Patinir and shall have more to say about hereafter. Possibly in this case David employed a professed landscapist to paint in the background for him.

A pair of pictures in the National Gallery—the Three Kings and the Deposition—approximately of the same size (about two feet square) which came to their present home together and have been together as far back as their history can be traced, were probably parts of a single work. The former is the only picture which bears David's signature. The name "Oudewater" was impressed into the paint while it was still wet by being written with the sharp end of a brush-stick. This was pointed out five-and-twenty years ago or more by Sir Walter Armstrong, yet the critics, except Friedländer, cannot see the Master's hand in either picture, though that he designed both is not denied. The Deposition shows the co-operation of an assistant, but the Magi is for the most part

[1] In the Schleissheim and Clemens Collections.

by the Master himself. It adopts the lighter chord of colour which David now borrowed from Massys. The village in the background, as mentioned above, is a repetition of one of the sketches made in his Dutch days. In the Deposition the Virgin embraces the head of Christ, tenderly pressing it against her cheek with her right hand. This motive was often repeated by David's followers in half-lengths or merely heads, as at Petrograd, The Hague, and elsewhere.[1] It has been pointed out that the composition goes back to Geertgen, and this though Massys' famous picture of the same subject, dated 1511, must have been known to David.

To the final period of his career belongs what is perhaps his most dramatic work, a Descent from the Cross, last heard of in the possession of Messrs. Colnaghi, previously in the Dingwall and Driver Collections. The figures are shown at full-length. Half-length copies are numerous and one or more have been claimed for the Master himself. The Antwerp influence here discovered by other writers is not visible to me. On the contrary, this composition is an example of David's enduring conservatism. A comparison with Bouts' Descent in the Chapel Royal at Granada shows that he had that picture in mind in designing this one. The frontal position of Christ, the Virgin holding His hand, the attitude of St. John, all these features are similar in both, while the Mary on the right with her hand to her cheek was obviously suggested by a figure on Bouts' Crucifixion wing, which reappears in the National Gallery Entombment. What, however, is not imitated is the grave and tender emotion so genuinely infused into these figures by the later artist, an emotion which the stolid Bouts could not be expected to feel, still less to render.

Some three-quarter length pictures of the same subject, closely connected in design with this, have been called copies of it.[2] But they are not copies. Bodenhausen thought the Carvalho example to be an original by David. Whether that is true or not, it is probable that David painted a three-quarter length version, reducing the number of figures to adapt the composition to a

[1] A Pietà with only two figures, Christ's head being held by the Virgin at arm's length, was in the Kaufmann Collection, and is attributed to David, but doubtfully.

[2] They are in the Uffizi (No. 846), the Hoschek, Peralta, and Carvalho Collections, and in Saragossa Cathedral, and there is a drawing in the British Museum. I have written at greater length on this group of pictures in the *Burlington Magazine*, 1916.

compacter form. In both designs the cross is placed obliquely on the right side of the picture, and this is the position it occupies in the Berlin Crucifixion, where the Centurion standing on the right is the same model with the same belt and costume as the man on the ladder in the full-length Descent; the Mary with her hand to her cheek likewise reappears. The pains taken by the artist in this work are notable. Never did he devote more care to working out his individual figures, their grouping, and the play of light upon them; the landscape also is fuller than usual of elaborate detail.

Of the other two Crucifixions painted by David,[1] that at Genoa is the more remarkable. It is, indeed, our artist's most original and impressive work. The figures are but three, and those most dignified. Not only are they the fewest possible, but the drapery is of great simplicity, the strong vertical line in St. John's robe being a note of form that gives character to the whole composition. The landscape is also compressed beneath a low horizon-line and consists of the plainest elements, treated with purposeful indefiniteness.

Thus we take leave of the Master on a high level. The end of his life was near when he painted this picture. It shows him constant to the ideals he had pursued throughout his career and reaping the fruit of that persistence, not in a power to dazzle the spectator by originality of invention or novelty in technical skill, but in a more perfect rendering of fine emotion, impressive because entirely controlled, and in full concord with accepted tradition and reverence for that which "we have heard with our ears and our fathers have told us."

[1] In New York Museum and the Palazzo Brignole Sale at Genoa.

CHAPTER XXI

LATER BRUGES ARTISTS

We must deal more briefly with the group of later Bruges artists, not in that their work is unattractive, but because their art leads no whither and is mainly carried along by the momentum of the past. They are in fact second-rate men, who with one exception put in practice what they had been taught: conscientious workers, but not originators. They were made by their school; they did not shape it. Only in recent years has the memory of them been recovered and some of their pictures identified.

The exception above mentioned was John Provost of Mons, the date of whose birth is not recorded. He joined the Antwerp Guild in 1493, but passed on to settle at Bruges in the following year, in which Memling died. He remained there till his own death in 1529. Thus he followed David at an interval of about a decade, and died six years after him. His identification with Bruges was so complete that Dürer supposed him to have been born there. No less than thirty-four or thirty-five pictures have been attributed to him, mainly through the initiative of Hulin or Friedländer. He married four wives in succession; one of them was the widow of Simon Marmion. It may have been owing to this connexion that he purchased the freedom of Valenciennes in 1498, but he does not seem to have lived there. He repeatedly filled offices in the Bruges Guild, and performed the miscellaneous tasks expected of a painter. He drew maps, designed architecture, and carried out works of decoration. Albert Dürer made his acquaintance at Antwerp in September 1520, accompanied him to Bruges, and stayed in his house there in April 1521. On both occasions he drew his host's portrait, once in charcoal and once in silver-point. We may probably conclude that Provost spent the winter of 1520–1 in Antwerp.

Friedländer indicates a Pietà in the Von Back Collection at

Szegedin as one of his earliest works. It is by no means characteristic of the Bruges school of about 1490. Provost had evidently learned his art elsewhere, probably at his birthplace, Mons. The queer drawing of eyes and some other tricks which Hulin has pointed out as peculiar to Provost are already apparent in this picture. His attempt to render emotion fails. Details are painted sketchily and not with the painful minuteness characteristic of his work in later years. Four other pictures, not easily accessible, are grouped with this by Friedländer.[1]

They are followed by a slightly more mature group: an Adoration of the Magi at Berlin, a Last Judgment in the Ruffo de Bonneval Collection, a Madonna in the National Gallery, a pair of wings in the J. G. Johnson Collection. In these pictures we can see the result of the artist's study of his contemporaries both at Bruges and Antwerp. Reminiscences of David and even Memling can be discovered in the Johnson wings. The Last Judgment, archaic in sentiment and design, shows Renaissance feeling in the drawing of the nudes. David was again in Provost's mind when he was designing the Berlin Three Kings, though here likewise the new spirit peeps through. This and the other detail have been pointed out as proof that our artist was not ignorant of the work of Mabuse and Massys.

In the Virgin and Child by a Fountain, at Piacenza, Provost has found himself, though he went back to Van Eyck for the fountain. The sweetness of the Virgin, the boisterousness of the fluttering angels, the delicacy and daintiness of the whole in all its parts, these are Provost's own accomplishment about the beginning of his middle period. The hedge of roses above the garden bank was a feature he more than once introduced. Plants trained on a wooden trellis in a similar position appear behind the Saint and Saintess on a pair of wings of about 1520, one in the Prado, the upper part of the other in the Louvre. They show Provost at his best. He was a lover of gardens and painted flowers with delicacy and care. In these two figures and the

[1] In the list of Provost's pictures in *Von Eyck bis Bruegel* (p. 187), Friedländer names only two at Madrid, the Prado wing and a Pietà in the Traumann Collection, but in his text (p. 120) he names also a Pietà (phot. Laurent 2630) as in the Prado and a Magi in some unparticularized private collection.

contemporary Abraham and Sarah belonging to Count Paul Durrieu we find Provost advancing with the stride of his day. The dog in the latter may even have been taken from Dürer. The movement, the freedom of gesture, and the architectural accessories indicate that our artist did not remain hidebound to Bruges traditions.

In the Museum at Bruges is a dull-coloured but remarkable picture, which, by the fashion of the cap worn by one of the figures, can be dated to about 1520–1, that is to say, to the time when Provost was in Antwerp. It shows the influence of the artists then working in that city. We behold one Jan Lanckart, a merchant, in his office with open ledger and money-bags on the table before him. He is evidently in an agitated state of mind, and well may be, for there is Death on the other side of the table either paying down or picking up money and receiving or giving a receipt. A third individual with pointing finger stands behind, and may be a likeness of the artist himself. It resembles the kind of self-portraits painters of that day used sometimes to introduce into the backgrounds of their pictures. Among Dürer's portraits, drawn in charcoal about this date, is one in the British Museum (Lippmann, No. 284) which bears a striking resemblance to this head. It is perhaps the likeness of our artist made by Dürer at Antwerp in September 1520, just about the time when Provost must have been painting this picture. The reader will remember the numerous money-changers and merchants in their offices painted by Massys and his followers, notably by Marinus van Reymerswale. They were evidently popular in Antwerp. The first of them was perhaps Massys' picture in the Louvre, which may be dated 1514. St. Jerome in his cell was also painted, with the like multiplication of accessories. Dürer's St. Jerome, now at Lisbon, was a work of the same character. It seems likely that Provost had that picture in his mind when designing his "Merchant and Death." Hence he may have derived the suggestion of Lanckart's pointing finger, his open book, and some of the accessories. Dürer's skull, if the drawing for it is turned round, agrees with Provost's, though the latter looks as if done from memory or a very rapid sketch. The ugly old merchant is portrayed with much animation and a painter's feeling



1. SCHOOL OF GEERTGEN. ST. DOMINIC. COLL. TURNER.—p. 277.



2. G. DAVID. THE DINGWALL CRUCIFIXION. p. 290.



3. JAN PROVOST. DEATH AND JOHN LANCKART. BRUGES. p. 294.



4. G. DAVID. DIPTYCH. CAMBRIDGE, MASS.—p. 281.

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for the value of large surfaces and massive features, which are emphasized by contrast with the still-life minutiæ in the background. But Provost was not a good portrait-painter and had no gift for penetrating the secrets of a character. An interesting fragment, with a donor's head, in the Johnson Collection exhibits his limitations in this respect. Better are the donors on the wings of the Buckingham Palace triptych, a characteristic work of the artist's central period. The over-elaborate architecture of the Virgin's throne and goldsmithy of the croziers marks the coming of the Fantastic which rioted in Antwerp studios from about this time forward. But the picture is pleasingly lit and the traditional composition well balanced and wrought out in workmanlike fashion. A Madonna at Amsterdam is of the same period as the preceding, but here the donor's portrait is the weakest part of the picture.

In none of these works does Provost display the charms of a colourist. His compositions are good, he often draws well, his accessories are finely finished. He paid a good deal of attention to the design of his draperies, as the wings at Paris and Madrid may be cited to show. The faces of his women are attractive. Landscape was not his forte and is reduced to unimportance in his backgrounds.

We luckily possess two pictures of Provost's late period which can be dated, the Deipara Virgo of 1524 at Petrograd and the Last Judgment of 1525 at Bruges. The latter was painted for the Town Hall and is the only work documentarily recorded as by him. The whole superstructure of attributions has been cleverly erected on this simple foundation. In both pictures the influence of contemporary Antwerp painters is so apparent that even without Dürer's record we could have known that Provost must have made a stay of some duration in that lively city and learned things there that Bruges could not have taught him. In the Deipara Virgo the elaboration of feminine costume, which turned Antwerp saintesses into fashionable and expensive ladies, is also visible, though without the extravagance beloved on the Scheldt. The subject, as Hulin tells us, was a favourite one at Bruges not only with painters of the early sixteenth century but also for *tableaux vivants*. Thus he cites those exhibited on the

occasion of the Joyous Entry of Charles V in Bruges in 1520, when the third prize went to the man who had designed and furnished the costumes of the actors, and notably those for the Sibyls and Prophets, who, as here, no doubt were introduced foretelling the Virgin-Mother.[1]

The building up of so intricate and artificial a composition, if at that time it implied little creative ability, was only attainable by much learning and some ingenuity. The Last Judgment is Provost's most pretentious work and shows him at his learnedest. He has advanced as a draughtsman. The little woman putting on her celestial robes is a pleasing vision. The large-scale Heavenly Host makes the picture top-heavy and comes so low down that if a man in the foreground were to stand up he would knock his head against the clouds. Angels blow out of their trumpets the letters of the calls to elect and damned like peas out of a pea-shooter. It is all entirely artificial and devoid of the dramatic quality without which such a subject is meaningless, but it unites in a clever mosaic, like the well-fitted bits of a jigsaw puzzle, all the expected elements and depicts them in competent fashion. We may thus take leave of Provost with some respect but with little regret.

Brief mention in passing may be given to another Bruges artist who stands in Provost's neighbourhood. He painted a seated round-faced Virgin with two Saints which is in the Uffizi (No. 666), a second-rate imitation of Memling. He likewise painted a Virgin on the crescent moon which was in the Willett Collection.[2] Three-quarters of that picture are filled with the heavenly host among clouds, quite uninteresting, but the lowest quarter contains one of the most beautiful landscapes painted at that time; if it stood

[1] An important and earlier picture of the same subject, by which however Provost seems to have been uninfluenced, is a triptych in the Church of St. James at Bruges. The figures on the central panel are half-lengths. The unidentified painter is known as the Master of the Holy Blood. An artist of some merit, he derives his name from a Descent from the Cross, painted about 1519, and presented, probably by Jan van der Straeten in that year, to the Confraternity of the Holy Blood. Four pictures by him were exhibited at the Bruges Exhibition in 1902, and others are mentioned in Hulin's *Catalogue Critique* of that exhibition. There is a list of his works in Friedländer's volume on the Berlin Loan Exhibition of Renaissance Art (1898), p. 20. He flourished at Bruges about 1510–25, but worked under the influence of Massys and Joos van Cleeve, to the latter of whom some of his pictures have been attributed. He was a dull painter.

[2] Bruges Exhibition (1902), No. 208.

alone its merit would have received more notice. The view is of a river passing near some cottages, under a bridge, and then meandering through fields and round the base of a castle-crowned cliff to vanish in a wooded and hilly distance. The colouring is rich, the composition well chosen, and the effect of light striking low very well rendered. It is possible that the painter of this view was a landscapist pure and simple, and that he was employed as such by the anonymous and inferior figure-painter to whom the rest of the picture is due.

A second-rate but not uninteresting Bruges artist who was a follower, if not a pupil, of John Provost is known to us from two pictures. By his signed initials he can scarcely have been other than a recorded member of the Bruges Guild, Jan van Eeckele. Coming from elsewhere, he joined the guild in 1534, filled various offices in it, and died in or soon after 1561. His son became a master-painter in 1548, so that the father may have been born about 1500 or before. Van Mander mentions a Bruges painter under the name of Hans Vereycke, probably the same man. The form of the Christian name, like Memling's, suggests that he was a German. He was nicknamed Klein Hansken. Apparently he is not to be confused with another Cleen Hansken, who was Hans van der Elburcht, a follower of Patinir, of whom more hereafter. The picture which shows Jan van Eeckele imitating Provost is a Madonna with St. Bernard in Tournay Museum. In the background are other incidents in the Saint's legend. Hulin thinks it may be dated far along toward the middle of the sixteenth century, a remarkable survival of fifteenth century forms and traditions. Nothing is more conservative than pious emotion. There are plenty of English Churchmen to-day who are not happy worshipping except in a Gothic church. That was why the Liverpool public when they decided in recent years to build a big cathedral decreed that it must be in the Gothic style. Conservatively pious folk in the sixteenth century similarly hung on to the old types of religious picture and gave employment to conservative artists. The Spanish market, so important to Netherlands painters at this time, expressed a similar demand. The only other known picture initialled by Van Eeckele is a half-length Mater Dolorosa in Bruges Cathedral. A woodcut of the same design and the

accompanying text printed by Gerard Leeu at Antwerp in 1492 in a "Seven droefheyden O.L.V.," and a copy of the same cut printed by Janszoen at Leyden in 1500 in a "Leven O.L.V.," prove that Van Eeckele's picture repeated the design of an original in the church of Ara Coeli at Rome, whereof there were other copies at Abbenbroek and Romerswale in Zealand. There is another copy with the addition of angels overhead at Munich by Quentin Massys' follower, the Master of the Manzi Magdalen (No. 105). They show the influence of Quentin Massys, but it does not follow that they are, as has been claimed, copies of a lost copy made by him, of which we have no record. An Italian version of the same Roman original was in Charles Butler's Collection.[1]

It will be convenient at this point to deal summarily with a few anonymous Bruges pictures which cannot be entirely passed over. There is, for instance, that Consecration of a Bishop which used to masquerade as the Consecration of Thomas à Becket by John van Eyck, on the basis of a forged inscription.[2] Though the picture is not by or of the period of the Van Eycks, it was painted by a good artist about the year 1500 or later. For a time he was thought to have been the young Mabuse, but that idea is given up. Another picture by the same hand, likewise at Chatsworth, depicts an episode in the life of some Benedictine saint. The composition of the crowd is in both cases rather primitive, a perspective of tonsured crowns. On the other hand, the draperies are well designed, and some of the older faces are dignified and moderately expressive. The open-air background is curiously Italian, even specifically Venetian in its openness and the type of figures that animate it; one can also imagine a Venetian reminiscence in the palace architecture. Weale suspected that the painter had some connexion with England—I know not on what grounds.

To Mr. R. C. Sutton-Nelthorpe belongs a picture of St. Francis abandoning his father, which has puzzled all the critics. Hulin hoped, rather than believed, that it might be by John Provost, but this hope has been abandoned. It dates from about 1520. St. Francis is giving his clothes to his father, who seems quite eager

[1] Reproduced in the *Art Journal*, November 1884, p. 336.

[2] How the forgery was made is described in the *Burlington Magazine*, March 1907.

to get them. A handsomely vestmented Bishop extends a wing of his cope over the naked lad. If he and another bystander are putting their fingers to their eyes to avoid seeing his nakedness they do it in a most ineffective manner; but perhaps they are intercepting tears, equally ineffectively. For all that the picture is a good one, well composed with figures in natural momentary positions and variety of character in the faces.

An important-looking triptych which belonged to Messrs. Durlacher and was shown at the Düsseldorf Exhibition in 1904 (No. 154) has been no less of a problem. Friedländer wrote about it at length,[1] finding in it influences from Hugo van der Goes, Memling, and Gerard David, and such resemblances to the work of Isenbrant as to make him suspect that it might be an early work by him. As always happens when anything proves too tough a nut for the critics to crack, they presently turn and abuse it. The latest writer to tackle it has done so, and now we are told it is a very poor affair. In reality it is an excellent work by an immature artist of the later Bruges school who in the Adoration of the Magi has remembered David, in the Presentation Memling. The basket on the ground in the Nativity is the same that we find in the studio replica (in the Pablo Bosch Collection) of Gerard David's Stoop Madonna. Patinir had a basket rather like it, but not the same one. I suspect the painter of the Durlacher triptych to have been the same assistant in David's studio to whose hand the Pablo Bosch picture is due. Both works are assigned roughly to about the year 1515.

An original and entertaining picture belongs to Count de Limburg-Stirum and used to be at the Château de Rumbeke near Roulers, to which indeed it most essentially belonged, for it depicts a scene in the park of that château, and the building itself appears in the background, as it remained almost unaltered till the War. Only the spire upon the tower was gone. Whether the building still survives, I know not. When shown at the Bruges Exhibition (No. 273) the orthodox Catholics who controlled that admirable show permitted the picture to be described as " Un fête de famille en plein air." The learned Hulin was able to identify the persons as belonging to the Thiennes family and the date as approximately

[1] *Jahrbuch Pr. Kss.*, 1904, p. 114.

1535, but he did not state, what was pointed out to me by the late M. Henri Hymans, that the assemblage is obviously a Protestant meeting, and that is why they are singing hymns and some of them are kneeling. One of the servants seems much agitated by the arrival in the background of a cavalcade and cartload of visitors just driving up to the château. The admirable landscape shows the continuing influence of Gerard David. Apart from its agreeable artistic quality, the picture is an interesting document of social history. It will be a pity if it also has been swallowed up by the War.

A single picture is authentically recorded as the work of a Bruges artist named Albert Cornelis. It is a Coronation of the Virgin painted between 1517 and 1522 and hangs in the church of St. James at Bruges. Cornelis is mentioned in 1513 as a burgher of Bruges and in 1518 as a guild-officer. In the years from 1515 to 1530 he is recorded as selling pictures in the half-yearly markets. In 1532 he died. The photographic translation of his picture into black and white gives an unfairly favourable impression of it, for the colouring has a cheap and poor appearance. It is one of the most crowded works of the school, and the great multitude of figures are grouped together not unskilfully. Bodenhausen throws doubt upon the degree of Cornelis' responsibility for it and refuses to draw from it many inferences as to his style. The influence of Gerard David is visible enough, but more still are we reminded of the work and even the hand of Ambrosius Benson, a painter resident and very active at Bruges for several years. It has likewise been suggested that Isenbrant may have had a hand in the painting. Cornelis undertook to paint all the nude and other principal parts with his own hand, but from the records of a lawsuit [1] we learn that his actual accomplishment of a proper share of the work was disputed. The Court held otherwise, so the doubt which has been thrown upon his substantial responsibility for the picture seems groundless.

Adrian Isenbrant was a prominent Bruges painter between the years 1510 and 1551; indeed, after Gerard David he seems to have been the leading artist in the city. He was not educated there, but came from somewhere else and bought the freedom of

[1] *Le Beffroi*, i, p. 18.

the local painters' guild in the year above mentioned. He soon rose to a good position in it, and filled various offices at different times between 1515 and 1548. In July 1551 he died. When such a multitude of obviously Bruges School pictures of the first half of the sixteenth century have survived it is practically certain that among them must be works by a painter so prominent and so long active. The co-operative investigations of many students have grouped together as the work of a single artist a large number of pictures, none of them signed, none attached by any old document to a named painter, but all produced within the period of Isenbrant's recorded activity. The first name suggested for their author was that of Jan Mostaert, but the known facts of his life were at variance with the implications of the pictures themselves. To make a long story short, only what is known of Isenbrant does satisfy them, and they are now ascribed to him by general consent, though actual proof that he painted any one of them has not yet been discovered.

The two largest pictures thus attributed to the Master we have now to consider were triptychs, one of 1518 at St. Mary's, Lübeck, the other of about 1520 at Grancey-le-Château (Côte d'Or). I have not seen the Lübeck picture for forty years, and my memory of it is very dim; the Grancey-le-Château triptych I have never seen at all. To judge from rather indifferent photographs neither of them is a picture that would long hold the attention of any spectator who was not an art-historian. Friedländer, I believe, deprived Isenbrant of the Lübeck altarpiece and ascribed it to an anonymous painter of 1518, to whom also he attributed certain other works. Later on he found a place for that artist among his Antwerp Mannerists, with whom we shall presently deal. Whether the Grancey triptych should be similarly handled I know not. The head of one of the Apostles in it is said to be a fine portrait of David himself in advanced years; it is considered the finest and most carefully painted head by Isenbrant. If that is true it only confirms what his other pictures so frequently indicate—the closeness of his relation to David, whose assistant he may well have been for several years. Some of his paintings, such as the Munich and Arco-Valley examples of the Virgo inter Virgines, appear to be copied from originals by David; others may have been done from

that master's designs. Nor was it only David that Isenbrant copied. There is in the Kaufmann Collection a repetition of the central panel of the well-known little triptych by Mabuse now at Palermo, which shows a close but not slavish imitation of the original. He also painted a separate imitation of the Adam and Eve on the outside of the wings; the picture was in the Emden Collection (No. 53). In other cases he borrowed from the engravings of Martin Schongauer and Dürer, and he put under contribution some of the popular paintings of his Netherlandish predecessors. In all this he was merely carrying on the imitative habit of his school and providing the kind of pictures his patrons desired.

There is at Munich a pretty Virgin and Child in a landscape, one of those numerous Rests by the Way on the Flight into Egypt then so popular.[1] They gave opportunity for the introduction of wide extending landscapes with entertaining distances and incidents, and enabled a painting of a religious subject to be endowed with a great deal of mundane charm. The Virgin and Child are identical in design with those in the versions of the Virgo inter Virgines above mentioned. Joseph in the background knocking dates off what is intended for a date-palm had already appeared exactly thus in a Rest by David which was in the Kann Collection. Even the landscape was evidently not of Isenbrant's invention, and the whole picture may well have been designed by or even copied after David. The kind of landscape Isenbrant designed when left to his own resources is exemplified in the Mary Magdalen praying in the (very fertile) desert which was in the De Somzée Collection. It is characterized by a number of jutting rocks that look like the lobes of great cactus plants, with domed trees among them, cottages and castles dotted about, and villages in the remoter distance. No photograph can give any idea of the charm of the picture; that resides in its rich and glowing colour. Equally dependent upon the same qualities are the two wings with figures of saints from the same collection. Nothing could be more dull or uninspired than the figures themselves—the straight-legged,

[1] In Canterbury Museum is a pretty "Rest by the Way" by Isenbrant, with a Virgin dressed in blue, seated in a landscape. In the background are worshippers adoring a statue of Neptune. The picture is in good condition.

spindle-shanked John Baptist and the mild Jerome. But the latter's fine red robe against the green background is a joy to look upon.

A more advanced work of the type of the Magdalen is a triptych, on one of the wings of which she again appears. It was in the R. Kann Collection. Jerome in Penitence is the subject of the central panel. Why the religious folk of that time were so devoted to St. Jerome is doubtless known, but the explanation has not reached me. He was as popular with Italian and especially with Venetian painters as with Netherlanders. Some of Bellini's pupils and certain Bruges painters approximate rather closely in style when painting this Saint. Several of these penitent Jeromes are attributed to Isenbrant[1] and all are charming pictures, but in them also our artist rests upon David, who set the type he was content to follow. This triptych and another rather smaller one, which belonged to my late friend Dr. Lippmann and was his particular pride, are examples of the best that Isenbrant could accomplish. They are painted with exceeding fineness and brilliancy. They delight the eye the moment it rests upon them. There is an individual softness and grace about the little figures that was Isenbrant's own. They have an appearance of unusual finish and consequent preciousness, as though a very skilful craftsman had devoted much time to them. This is true even of the grisaille subjects on the outside of the Lippmann wings. The Netherlands produced few sweeter figures than that of the Virgin in this Visitation. Such a little altar-piece was perfectly adapted for the oratory of some young and pious but also well-to-do lady of its day. The architecture of the niches behind these grisailles has an obvious connexion with that in the Palermo Mabuse, which Isenbrant must have copied about this time.

Of like charm but somewhat later date are two much admired pictures in the Northbrook Collection: a Virgin seated in a handsomely sculptured and inlaid marble niche of Renaissance character, and a Virgin appearing above the altar to St. Ildephonso in a church of wildly fantastic architecture. With these we may also group a mass of St. Gregory in a similar church—a picture

[1] For example, one in the Fetis sale (1909), No. 106, and one in the J. G. Johnson Collection, No. 357.

which passed through the hands of Messrs. Agnew. It would be easy to have a surfeit of such sweets as the Northbrook Madonna. It is very pretty, but no one could call such art great. It is of the sugar-candy of pictures. There is no religious emotion in it, but only a religious convention. A Buddhist would not discover that it was a religious painting at all, though the colouring pleases the universal human eye. As for the sculptured background, that must have been borrowed from someone. It is not Isenbrant's invention. Nor is it merely the suggestion of it that came from Italy ; some Italian must have designed it. Architecture invented by Isenbrant, as in the St. Ildefonso, is wild stuff—a mixture of extravagant Renaissance and Gothic forms, impossibly combined. He had no understanding of the Renaissance spirit in architecture or of its root in a revolt against the unstructural over-elaboration of late Gothic. As long as forms were complicated and combinations novel, that was enough for Isenbrant and his patrons. In his mind, however, they were not thought of as architectural, but merely as decorative pictorial elements which he could mingle together and patch about among his graceful figures to produce a decorative painted whole. It must be admitted that, at his best, he thus attained some charming results.

The Mass of St. Gregory[1] indicates that Isenbrant did not remain unaffected by the developments that went forward at Antwerp and other art centres around him. Here the people are all agitated by emotion which they have to express by gesture, by the twisting about of their draperies, turning of the head, and other departures from the restraint and dignity of the fifteenth century school. Moreover, the actual paint is made as it were to sparkle with bright touches on vestments, mitres, and metallic adjuncts. It is all of a piece with the agitated architecture, but the result is decorative and in its way delightful.

An unusually large-scale pair of three-quarter lengths of Christ as the Man of Sorrows and the Virgin as Mater Dolorosa, united on a single panel, are in New York Museum. They show Isenbrant in his most pretentious and least charming mood. They are theatrical, artificial, unconvincing. The nobility which Van Eyck infused into the great figures of the Ghent altar-piece is absent

[1] I know the picture only from a photograph kindly given to me by Messrs. Agnew.

here. The spirit which created those imposing manifestations was gone from the earth. Nothing remained but a formula which Isenbrant employed with technical dexterity and without a suspicion of its emptiness in his hands. He had already, a few years before (say about 1530), painted a memorial diptych, half of which, with a seated Mater Dolorosa, it still in Notre Dame at Bruges—a confused and unsatisfactory composition. The Virgin sits in not unpathetic grief upon an ill-proportioned carved throne; but she loses all dignity and the picture all unity of effect by the ill-adjusted paintings of various incidents in the Passion on the wall behind her, which distract the attention and add nothing to the general effect.

Apart from the above-mentioned portrait head of David, Isenbrant is not credited with eminence as a portrait-painter. A half-length of St. Luke holding a Madonna-panel is thought to be a likeness of himself. The face matches the attribution. It is that of a mild and inefficient Dante, lacking all tragic emotion. His pursed-up, proper lips, his large dull eyes, his unlined face, belong to a quiet, rather pedantic person. He has sensitive hands which might well be skilful. He would be a quiet, virtuous, painstaking, even meticulous person, but with nothing great about him. In the Doria Gallery and elsewhere are half-length pictures of little ladies, as saints, attributed to him, some of which are probably portraits. They lack individuality. They are all of a kind. Isenbrant was not the only painter of such half-lengths, nor was he the inventor of the type, which became very fashionable. It is associated prominently with the unidentified Brussels artist named the Master of the Half-lengths, and several other painters turned out examples of the type, which seems to have been specially popular in France.

Isenbrant, in his turn, like David, was at the head of a manufactory of pictures, and supplied a number for export, especially to Spain. His assistants repeated his designs and imitated his style. Evidently the products of the workshop were popular. Pictures attributable to it rather than to him are numerous. In some his hand may have done a share of the work; in others only his design is discoverable. Others, again, are mere imitations. We need not linger over such an output. Even the mere studio

pictures often have a certain charm, but it is one inherited from the past—a fading charm, essentially decadent.

Other artists who worked at Bruges during the sixteenth century must receive our brief attention before we are free to turn to the work of greater men elsewhere. They are Lancelot Blondeel, Peter Claeissins the Elder, and Peter Pourbus. What is known of the first-mentioned was put together by Mr. Weale and published in the numbers of the *Burlington Magazine* of November and December 1908, to which the reader is referred for all details. Blondeel was born at Poperinghe in West Flanders in 1496. He started life as a mason, but was admitted a master-painter at Bruges in 1519. He married, served offices in his guild, and in 1561 he died. His most outstanding work is not a painting but an elaborately carved chimneypiece, which he designed[1] in 1528 for the Council Chamber of the Hotel of the Liberty of Bruges, now the court-room of the Palais de Justice. It was finished in 1532. Blondeel won the order after a competition, and was then sent to other towns to consult with sculptors and experts, among whom the painter Mabuse is mentioned. The fireplace and mantelpiece were of black marble and alabaster, the overmantel and ceiling of oak. The alabaster mantelpiece was designed and sculptured by Guy Beaugrant, who also carved the five large oak figures. The heraldry was approved by Toison d'or. The overmantel was intended to commemorate the victory of Pavia and Treaty of Madrid (1526). The central oak figure is Charles V, with his parents on his right hand and his grandparents, Ferdinand and Isabella, on his left. A throne, numerous cherubs, portrait medallions, and many coats-of-arms fill the remainder of this somewhat overburdened composition. It matches the exuberant taste of the day, which Blondeel thoroughly relished. All his paintings that have come down to us express the same extravagance. He turned his back on the old traditions and belonged heart and soul to the new world. He inherited the skill of hand and power of draughtsmanship which had been developed by the old masters, but none of their restraint. Where he got his inspiration is obvious. It was from Italy. Even if the picture in Tournay Cathedral is not

[1] Apparently also the ceiling.



1. FLEMISH SCHOOL (1535). A PROTESTANT MEETING. RUMBEKE.—p. 299.



2. QUENTIN MASSYS. COLL. C. B. O. CLARKE. p. 323.



3. ISENBRANT. ST. LUKE. MESSRS. COLNAGHI—p. 305.



4. LANCELOT BLONDEEL. DECORATION IN THE PALAIS DE JUSTICE, BRUGES.—p. 306.

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by him it shows in an advanced form the same influx of Italian influence. It is, however, not the spirit of Italy that has been caught, but merely the forms. A prototype for each of them could be cited were it worth while. Blondeel was essentially a decorator. He was often employed to design decorative statues, ironwork, tapestries, house-fronts, carved doors, candlesticks, and whatever was needed of an expensive sort. He also designed woodcuts, but none are known.

Four decorative banners, recorded as painted by him for various corporations, still exist. They depict religious subjects or personages framed in or projected against such a mass of intricate decoration as to be almost overwhelmed by it. One cannot deny that the work is clever. When fresh it may have been brilliant and effective. The ornamental parts are done in brown on a gold ground. They can hardly be called even remotely architectural, but resemble intricate metal-work of a highly fanciful character. A single detail cited by Weale shows where the artist sought suggestions. In the banner of the Painters and Saddlers which is in St. Saviour's at Bruges, dated 1545, the capitals of the pilasters of the Virgin's throne agree with those in the basilica of Nerva at Rome, and must have been copied from the Flemish edition (published in 1539) of Serlio's treatise on architecture. The Virgin and Child are no less obviously of Italian derivation. Yet, for all this Italianizing the spirit remains late Gothic—Gothic gone wild or over-ripe. Though locally novel it is decadent art, which led ultimately nowhither. We shall meet with other artists similarly affected and need not longer delay over this one, but we cannot quit him without mentioning that in 1550 he and Scorel were charged with the perilous task of restoring the great Ghent altar-piece of the brothers Van Eyck.

Peter Claeissins the Elder was neither the first nor the last artist of his family, for there was a Peter Claeis living and working at Bruges before him. The Peter[1] with whom we are concerned was 60 years old when he signed his own portrait (if it be his own portrait) in 1560. He became a master-painter in the Bruges Guild in 1530. In 1544 he joined the Booksellers' Guild as an illuminator. He was still working in 1553. Three of his

[1] See Weale in the *Burlington Mag.*, July 1911, p. 198.

sons were likewise painters, Giles, Anthony, and Peter by name. Pictures by all of them are known. Of the portrait above mentioned two versions exist: one in Christiania Gallery, the other in the Cook Collection at Richmond. They are bust portraits, the former signed with the painter's full name, but it does not look like a man 60 years of age.

An early work, marked with his monogram,[1] which belongs or belonged to Mr. Haest of Antwerp, is a repetition of that old type of the Virgin embracing the Child which Winkler believes to have been invented by Roger. Numerous half-length examples of this composition emanated from Bruges in the first half of the sixteenth century, and they may have been manufactured in Claeissins' studio, though one at any rate (in the M. J. Rikoff Coll.) is attributed to Isenbrant and must have been painted in his entourage. Thus Claeissins was among the last artists at Bruges to hang on to the old school. If a Virgin's head in the Louvre (No. 1587) is also his it confirms the same tendency. But he could not escape the influences of his day, however little he was suited to adopt them. One of his latest works, a Resurrection of 1573 in St. Saviour's at Bruges, shows him doing his best to be fashionable, with an Apolline Christ and agitated soldiers in classical attitudes—a wretched picture. His portraits do him more credit. Two of Abbots of the Dunes still exist.[2] The first is of Antonius Wydoot, 33rd Abbot,[3] a grimly bigoted and rather stupid person, kneeling to some lost central subject of a triptych. The garden that intervenes between him and the remoter dunes shows, by classical columns and fountain with a nude figure of Hercules, that the Renaissance had begun to affect garden design. In the background on the right we can see a stone staircase leading up from the marble-lined pool to a formal rosary, into the secrets of which we are not permitted to penetrate. The portrait of the other Abbot, the 36th, Robert Holman by name, is dated 1571, and is a portrait pure and simple. This is a man of more intelligence than his predecessor, but likewise dour. He sits in

[1] Bruges Exhibition (1902); not in the catalogue.

[2] Bruges Exhibition (1902), Nos. 305 and 309.

[3] A portrait of this same abbot is on the wing of a polyptych in St. Giles' Church, Bruges, painted by Peter Pourbus in 1564.

an X-chair with a book of devotion open in his hand and all things proper for an ecclesiastic of position. Subject and treatment are well matched, but it is permissible to inquire whether a likeness showing so much insight can have been by the same hand as the foregoing. If it be accepted as his we shall be led to conclude that at the age of 71 the painter was still progressive.

The last Bruges artist on our list was a solider and better craftsman than these others, so that it is a pleasure to turn from their pictures to his. This Peter Pourbus, son of John, was born at Gouda in Holland a few years before 1520. He joined the Bruges Painters' Guild in 1543, and married the daughter of Lancelot Blondeel. He has been called "the last representative of the School of Bruges." He prospered, lived in a fine house named "Rome," and had the best-arranged studio Van Mander ever saw. He died in 1584, an energetic and busy individual, praised by Van Mander as "a good painter of figures, compositions, and portraits done from nature." The same author also records that he was a good "cosmographer or geometrician," in which quality he painted on a great canvas a delineation of the region called the Franc of Bruges as beheld from the top of the tower of Les Halles. A copy of it is preserved in the town-hall. Another work imposed on him in 1578 was to draw up a plan for the defence of the city, as to which he wrote and delivered a "learned memorandum."

Van Mander declares that his best work was an altar-piece painted for his native town, Gouda, but this has disappeared. Several altar-pieces and other religious pictures by him exist, for the most part signed and dated. Such at Bruges are:

1551	The Last Judgment,	The Museum.
1556	The Mater Dolorosa,	St. James'.
1559	The Last Supper,	The Cathedral.
1562	The Last Supper,	Notre Dame.
1564	A Polyptych,	St. Giles'.
1574	The Magi,	Notre Dame.
1578	The Resurrection,	St. James'.

We need not delay over them except to notice that though ably painted they possess the artificialities and affectations almost

unavoidable in religious pictures of the date, and depend on the donors' portraits, where such accompany them, for the chief interest they can offer to a modern eye. It is as a painter of portraits that Peter Pourbus is still held in honour. Some of his even passed muster for years as Holbeins. They were far the best portraits painted at Bruges in their day; they did not, however, draw their merit from the traditions of the local school, but from the influences of the contemporary development everywhere going forward. Thus in the Mater Dolorosa in St. James' the central panel is a modernized version of Isenbrant's picture in Notre Dame and gains nothing by its modernization; but the donors on the wings are vital human beings, definite personalities carefully studied, dressed in rich and dignified attire. As the old religious feeling quitted the formative arts and began to inspire music, the interest in and love of the visible world and actual people alive in it increased, and this whether the artists were or were not conscious of the change. However closely they might cling to traditional arrangements and types of sacred subjects and personages, they could not escape from the mundane atmosphere. In endeavouring to render religious emotion they arrived no further than a stage effect. Their saints are actors, their scenes *tableaux vivants*. We may, therefore, turn away from the altar-pieces of Peter Pourbus to admire his portraits.

Friedländer states that he has identified an early group of them belonging to the decade before 1550, but I cannot find that he has recorded their names, and they have not come under my observation. A pair in the Bruges Museum, dated 1551, are and deserve to be well known. They depict John Fernagant and his wife in a room in a house at the corner of the Rue Flamande and the Place de la Grue at Bruges. Through a window we are shown a most interesting view of the square as it then looked, with a huge crane worked by a treadmill and two brothers of the Hospital of St. John watching the assemblage of various barrels of wine. Further off is the tower of the Chapel of St. John, and the view is closed on the right by a detailed representation of the painted façade (dated 1542) of a merchant's house named Ten Hane (The Cock). We can get from this a better idea of how the streets of Bruges looked in those days than from pages of descrip-

tions and records. Another view of the same lumbering crane with men in its treadmill will be found on the October page of the Calendar in a Flemish manuscript at Munich (No. 23638). Both the Fernagants are young. It was with older faces, especially those of men, that Pourbus was most successful. The Vienna Gallery is best provided with examples attributed to him, whereof the stern Don Pedro Guzman, Count of Olivarez, may be taken as representative. He served in the wars under Charles V and was Majordomo to his successor. Here is no posing or pretence, no pious attitudinizing, but a plain statement of fact. Thus this man looked; thus he stood. He is not beheld with any profound vision or magical understanding, yet competently seen and set down by one who, craftsmanlike, understood the craft of painting. There is art in the simplicity of the thing and an excellent convention that in those days was a common artistic property all countries over from Rome to Antwerp. The face is grave and strong, that of a man wont to deal with men. There is life under the skin and power of movement implied in the still attitude. To paint thus, though it was the gift of the day, was no small accomplishment. Along such lines development was to lead to a Rembrandt and a Hals. We can follow the course of artistic production at Bruges no further, but must now return to an earlier date and observe how artists in other places were likewise led to abandon the old conventions and launch forth to discover and exemplify the ideal of the new day then waxing over civilized Europe.

CHAPTER XXII

QUENTIN MASSYS

It is a relief to turn from these competent, industrious, but conventional Bruges painters to an artist of originality and genius, who, endeavouring to solve the problems and express the emotions of his own day, linked his art as much to that of the future, which he helped to fashion, as to the past whose traditions he inherited. Such a man was Quentin Massys. He was born at Louvain about the year 1466; in 1491 he was admitted as a master into the guild of St. Luke at Antwerp, where he spent all, or at any rate most, of the active days of his career as a painter; and there he died in 1530.

Lampsonius, who was born only two years after Massys' death and was therefore in a much better position than modern critics to know the facts concerning his life, relates that Quentin was first of all a blacksmith. Whether he abandoned that craft in consequence of illness or because the girl he loved preferred a painter for a husband is to us immaterial. Both accounts are ancient and both may be true. We are in no position to question their accuracy. Unreliable modern traditions point to certain pieces of ironwork at Antwerp as by him. One John Massys, not Quentin's father, is known to have worked as blacksmith for Antwerp Cathedral in the fifteenth century, so that a confusion might easily arise. We are not told who was Quentin's master nor where he learned to paint. Van Mander, indeed, states that he had no master, but a man cannot become a great painter without any teaching, so we are driven back to Massys' own pictures for information. In a previous chapter we have discussed the art of Louvain as expressed by Albert Bouts when Quentin was young. It was not a very brilliant art, but it possessed a sound technique, so that Quentin need not have left his native city to acquire all the technical knowledge he needed to become a painter, but he would

have found little impulse there toward a modern and lively artistic ideal. At Louvain he could study the art of the past; he must seek the inspiration of the future elsewhere. He found it at Antwerp.

In the great days of fifteenth century Flemish art—the days of the Van Eycks, Roger, and Van der Goes—Antwerp was not an important centre of painting. Many painters were employed there in the last quarter of the century, as has been remarked above, but none were eminent. The guild-books tell us their names, but where are their pictures? The importance of Antwerp as a centre of art-production in the sixteenth century provokes a desire to know something about the beginnings of the local school. The investigation has not failed to employ the competent energies of Professor Hulin, but he has to confess that thus far they have not been richly rewarded. His observations are summarized in an important article in the *Annual* of the Prussian Museums (1913, p. 68), the gist of which is as follows. In the quarter-century from 1480 to 1505 there arrived to work in Antwerp a great number of artists, several of them even from as far away as Cologne, the Lower Rhine, and Westphalia. More than a dozen of the incomers were Dutchmen, nine came from Bruges, eight or more from Brabant. Some, especially the Bruges men, did not make a long stay. Their old-fashioned style can scarcely have been popular in a new, go-ahead city. Several may not have been picture-painters at all, but house-decorators, glass-painters, and so forth; nevertheless the production of pictures by the whole group must have been large. Records enable our authority to identify as the heads of important workshops Lieven van Lathem the Court painter, Henry van Cleve (master of John Sanders van Hemessen), Simon van Herlam, James Lombard of Mons, Giles van Everen (master of John de Beer), and Goswin van der Weyden, all outsiders. Local artists of importance were Anthony van der Heyden, John Snel, Jacob Thonis, Henry and John van Wueluwe, Aerd Terlinck, and John de Coninck. Quentin Massys in 1491 and John Gossaert de Mabuse in 1503 added themselves to this busy crowd.

Where are the pictures painted in the fifteenth century by these men? They cannot all have vanished when so many Bruges pictures of the same date have survived. Yet Hulin can only point with certainty to a single picture as an undoubted Antwerp

work before 1500. He even believes that he can identify the painter of it as Henry van Cleve, and adds the tantalizing statement that in 1911 he saw in the hand of a London dealer the double portrait of that painter and his wife dated 1496 and marked with the arms of the Antwerp Painters' Guild, but he does not tell us where the picture can be seen nor does he reproduce a photograph of it. Some wall-paintings, the remains of the decoration of an important room, still exist at Antwerp in the surviving part of a house,[1] de Witte Arend (the White Eagle), which belonged in the fifteenth century to the Rynck family. Reproductions of two figures depicting Sibyls will be found in the *Bulletin monumental* (1901, p. 608). They appear to be excellent work and are reminiscent of Bouts, but the name of the painter is buried in forgetfulness. They date from the last years of the fifteenth century.

The unique panel-painting above mentioned is in the Antwerp Gallery (No. 529) and depicts what we might call a " beanfeast " of the local Archers' Guild. It was painted before 1493. Thus we are introduced to Antwerp as a city interested in its own contemporary life, especially on its festive side. To find a parallel we must go back to the " Garden of Love " of Philip the Good, painted about 1425 and known to us by a copy in Versailles Museum. Antwerp religious compositions of the coming decades were, in fact, as we shall presently learn, thoroughly worldly scenes masquerading as events in sacred history. Here there is no pretence. We are introduced to a mixed company of men and women having a good time in the garden of a château. Youths climb trees and pick apples for the ladies; cups of wine are circulating; flirtations are toward; flags wave; trumpeters blare; the festivity is also proceeding within the halls of the château, as we can see through the windows. In the centre of the garden the head of the guild is seated on a throne under a canopy, attended by archers. He also is about to drink and a lady is offering him fruit, while comic dancers perform before him. The public of all ages looks on, through or over the railings. Thus the earliest Antwerp picture expresses the joy of life, and this remains the keynote of the school during a couple of centuries.

Antwerp was exuberant. She was the Chicago of those days.

[1] 14 Rue Reynders.

The discovery of the Western Continent and of the route round the Cape was revolutionizing commerce. Those discoveries, however, were not so much the cause as the consequence of developing enterprise. The peoples of the North were throwing off the bondage of the Hanseatic League, under whose auspices Bruges had flourished. Antwerp's growth and the decline of Bruges were due quite as much to the relative freedom of the new port as to the silting up of the Zwyn. Probably larger ships were now employed in the carrying trade; if so, the Scheldt would have suited them better than the Zwyn at its best. Evidently the atmosphere of Antwerp was freer than that of Bruges with its strong mediæval traditions. The former was a suitable medium for the propagation of humanistic culture. The Renaissance there found a home; scholars such as Erasmus and Peter Gillis could live in or visit the city with enjoyment. Bruges was never a centre of the New Learning, still less of the Reformation. Hence, if in the last years of the fifteenth century Antwerp did not possess a great school of painting, it was full of hope and of ideas. Here a man might wisely choose to settle who felt within himself the power of that day and desired as an artist to express the emotions of the best and most forward of his contemporaries. Such a man was Quentin Massys. He, like Dürer, was more than a mere craftsman. We are told that he was likewise a musician and that he wrote verses. If Peter Gillis chose him to paint his portrait and that of Erasmus it was because he already knew him. Dürer visited him in his house. These are all the facts we possess, but they suffice to indicate what manner of man he was and that he was one of the alert in a very wideawake place and day.

When he came to Antwerp and joined the guild in 1491 he was 25 years of age. There were other people of his name in the city, and they may have been his relations; the John Massys who joined the same guild ten years later was, perhaps, his brother. Quentin's pictures prove that Louvain art traditions were pretty firmly rooted in his memory. If Albert Bouts taught him to paint, it was not Albert's pictures but those of his father that lingered in his memory. Thus the St. Luke painting the Virgin, known to us by Wierincx' engraving, was evidently suggested by Dirk Bouts' picture, as the Child's raised arm and turned

head prove. Massys' three pictures of the Virgin kissing the Child go back to the similar composition by Bouts which is in the Carrand Collection at Florence. The St. Christopher at Antwerp (No. 29) used actually to be attributed to him. The Pietà in the Louvre is a finely finished early Massys, closely following a Bouts composition. Massys' version was popular and was often copied in whole or in part. An example in the church at Cracow claims to be an original. Other copies are at Louvain and Antwerp (No. 565). A fine version at Munich (No. 134), ascribed to Massys himself as far back as the year 1630, is now given by good critics to William Key. Single heads have been pointed out in pictures of all periods of Massys' career as examples of the continuance of Bouts' types. The only comparison worth troubling the reader to make is that between one of the executioners biting his lip in Bouts' martyrdom of St. Erasmus, and corresponding lip-biters stirring up the fire under St. John's cauldron on a wing of the Antwerp Pietà. The square-headed type of child which appears in Massys' earlier pictures is another feature that links him to his Brabantine predecessors and contemporaries. It is the type prominent, for example, in pictures by Colin de Coter and the Brussels Master of the Magdalen Legend.

But Quentin was far from confining himself to study of Louvain pictures. He kept his eyes open all round. The well-known pair of heads of Christ and the Virgin at Antwerp, whereof the National Gallery possesses replicas, are free repetitions of heads in the Ghent altar-piece of the Van Eycks. The charming Madonna formerly in the Aynard Collection (Lyons) incorporates a suggestion borrowed from John van Eyck's Virgin and Child by a Fountain. That Massys also studied the productions of the Bruges School is manifested by the full-length seated Virgin at Brussels, by the delightful Carstanjen wings, and by the highly finished standing Virgin in a Chapel, where the architecture is enlivened by a pair of cherubs holding the ends of garlands, obviously borrowed from Memling. The original of this picture is at Lyons; a copy belongs to the Duke of Newcastle.

The Goldsmith and his wife in their shop, a well-known picture in the Louvre, suggests a yet closer imitation of some lost work of the date and style of John van Eyck or Roger. The costumes

are those of about 1440, as the reader may convince himself by comparing the lady with the donoress on Roger's Vienna Crucifixion. Moreover, the character of the composition matches that date and recalls the St. Eloy of Peter Christus. The convex mirror in front is similarly significant. We might have imagined that this was an actual copy of some original of the school of Van Eyck made by Quentin in his youth. The panel, however, is dated, and, though the last figure is obscure, the first three are always read 151. Fornenbergh, who was a picture-restorer at Antwerp in the seventeenth century, when the figures were probably more distinct, read the date 1514. Friedländer has vacillated between 1518 and 1519. An old copy in the Della Faille sale was dated 1519. Evidently the date cannot be thrown back behind 1510. We have, therefore, proof of Quentin's continued interest in fine work of the old school long after he had elaborated a new and very different style of his own.

It has even been suggested that by some means Quentin had come in contact with the work of Geertgen. The guess may be hazarded that a certain unidentified painter who has left us a few interesting pictures, from one of which he is named "the Master of the Morrison triptych," may have been a link between the two. It is clear that he must have worked at Antwerp and that he fell within the range of Quentin's influence, but before that he had been a close student of the work of Geertgen. An Adoration of the Magi, which was in the Sedelmeyer sale (1907, No. 231), shows him as an imitator, and the National Gallery triptych (the Virgo inter Virgines in front of a church with an interior flooded with yellow light) as a copyist of the Haarlem artist. That he stopped at Bruges and there imitated Memling is proved by the Morrison triptych itself, which is little more than a free copy of Memling's triptych at Vienna. It may have been through him that Quentin acquired Memling's festoon-holding boys and some Geertgen features. At Antwerp the Morrison master in turn laid Quentin under contribution. That he actually resided there is proved by the interesting view of the city which he introduced into the background of his Magi panel now in the J. G. Johnson Collection (No. 369). Quentin's Madonna at Lyons is the closest link between him and the Morrison master, to whom,

indeed, it was actually attributed by Dulberg. Cohen likewise attributes to him the Madonna in the German Museum at Nuremberg, there given to Quentin Massys. As a painter he was an excellent technician, but appears to have lacked creative originality.

A far more difficult and important point to determine is how far Quentin was indebted to the Italian art of his day. That he was so indebted is demonstrated by a small and highly finished Madonna and Child with a lamb, now in the Raczynski Collection. No one denies that these figures were painted by Quentin, though doubts have been thrown upon the landscape background, which has been claimed for Patinir or for some unidentified landscapist. We shall discuss Quentin as a landscape painter presently; for the moment we are concerned only with the figures, and they are obviously copied from a design by Leonardo da Vinci. The complete design also included the figure of St. Anne; Leonardo's picture of it in the Louvre is well known. That picture was in the first instance ordered of Filippino in the year 1500 for the Nunziata Church at Florence. He turned the commission over to Leonardo, who had already in 1499 at Milan made a cartoon of the subject, and in 1501 drew another, after which the picture was painted. It does not follow that Quentin ever saw either the picture or the cartoon, for the composition was frequently repeated by Leonardo's pupils—by Salaino, for instance, for San Celso at Milan (in the Leuchtenberg Gallery at Petrograd), and by Flemish painters in Italy, examples being in Lord Yarborough's collection and at Berlin. Quentin might have seen one of these copies. The picture seems to have been actually painted by Leonardo with the help of assistants at Milan between the years 1508 and 1512. In 1516 it was in Leonardo's studio at Amboise. The cartoon likewise went to France, for Louis XII wanted Leonardo to colour it. Hence, if Quentin ever saw either the original picture or the cartoon it must have been at Milan before 1516.

This is far from being the only evidence of Leonardesque or, at least, Lombard influence experienced by our Master. Such influence is evident in the pictures of his ripest period, notably in the lost Madonna, of which there is a copy in Amsterdam Museum; or is it only fancy that traces a connexion between its design and

that, for instance, of La Colombina at Petrograd? Leonardo's grotesque heads may have had some effect in prompting the Antwerp master to paint or, at least, to design those old Misers and other the like extravagant caricatures, which his followers were so fond of reproducing or imitating. His late Adoration of the Magi, now at New York, contains faces of the kind, and others will occur to every reader. None of these resemblances, however, compels the conclusion that Quentin actually visited Lombardy, but the hypothesis that he did so may be powerfully enforced by examination of the quality of the work of his best period. The delicacy and finish of the modelling of such a head as that of the weeping Magdalen on a fragment at Berlin brings Quentin very close to Lombardy. A similar community of spirit and technique is observable in the Antwerp half-length Magdalen, while the rocky element in several of Quentin's landscapes recalls the backgrounds of Leonardo. Strongest of all is the connexion in types of portraiture between Quentin and, say, Andrea Solario. Compare the admirable Liechtenstein Cardinal[1] with either Solario's Venetian Senator (of *c.* 1492–3) or his Longono (of 1505), both in the National Gallery. The place and proportion of figure on panel, the amount and character of the landscape, the decorative tree on either hand, the elevation of the horizon line—all these elements are the same with the Italian and the Antwerp artist. The Northerner must have been the borrower, though it need not have been Solario from whom he borrowed, because Solario merely used the contemporary Italian convention. An early Massys portrait in Chicago Museum, published by Friedländer, shows how he painted likenesses in the Flemish style before he experienced Italian influence —the difference is very marked. On the other hand, his portraits of Erasmus and Gillis painted in 1517 and the wonderful portrait of a yet later date at Frankfurt are examples of his fully developed personal style when he had welded together into a novel unity

[1] When in England this picture was called a portrait of Stephen Gardiner. It was a bad habit of English owners, especially in the seventeenth century, to attach names to portraits without any authority. The naming of this picture had, however, some basis of record. The late Rev. J. W. Loftie, who was a competent antiquary, informed me that he knew this picture when it belonged to a friend of his and was called a Holbein. At that time there was glued on the back of it an old bit of vellum inscribed in an Elizabethan handwriting, "Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester."

all the factors of his learning and experience, and had passed beyond the imitation of any particular master or school.

Without attempting to dogmatize, it seems to me that there is at least a probability that Massys paid a visit to North Italy. If he did so it must have been after the year 1511, when he finished the Pietà triptych now in Antwerp Museum. That and the Brussels triptych must have kept him busy at home for four or five years, and a direct Italian influence is not visible in them. If we are to bring him into contact with Leonardo we must carry him to Milan before 1516. We are left, therefore, with the four years 1512 to 1515 as the most likely time. In the André Collection is a remarkable head of an old man in profile painted on paper, fully signed and dated 1513. It is not a portrait but a "character-study." The Italian qualities in the work are obvious, though the suggestion that it is a likeness of Cosimo de' Medici taken from a medal is not accepted. If any existing work of Quentin's was done in Italy this is the most likely, and the fact that it is painted on paper accords with the circumstances of a traveller.

Quentin appears to have been acquainted with Italian medals. To see them he need not have gone to Italy, for they were carried far and wide; still, he would have had them brought more inevitably under his attention south of the Alps than in Antwerp. Erasmus distinctly states that Quentin cast a portrait of him in bronze—*quam Quintinus Antverpiae fundit aere*. The Erasmus medal dated 1519 must assuredly be the likeness in question. We have no other sculpture by the artist with which to compare it. It is of Italian type. The fact that beside painting Erasmus' portrait Quentin made this experiment for him, doubtless at his prompting, indicates the existence of rather a close intimacy between artist and scholar. Quentin also came into personal contact with the two greatest Northern painters of his day—Dürer and Holbein. Both in turn visited him in his house at Antwerp. Dürer's first call was made in August 1520, but the two artists probably often met during the following months which Dürer spent in Antwerp. Quentin was then 54 years old, Dürer 49; both mature artists. Two men of such intelligence and independent originality must have had much of interest to say to one another and to note in one another's art. Both, as

has been acutely observed, had this in common, that they were more infected with the humanistic spirit than with Renaissance forms. I trust it is not mere fancy that makes me see in their later work traces of a mutual influence. We possess three portraits painted by Dürer in 1521 : at Madrid, in the Gardner Collection (Boston), and the Van Orley at Dresden. The two former are unlike any he had previously produced, but have a kinship with Massys, or at least with his Frankfurt painting, though that may have been done later. On the other hand, the lost original of Quentin's St. Jerome in his study, whereof there is a copy at Vienna (No. 993), certainly owed something to Dürer's picture of the same subject which is now at Lisbon.

Holbein must have visited Massys in 1526 on his way through Antwerp to England, when he carried an introduction from Erasmus to Peter Gillis, who was to send him to Quentin's house. He was then 27 years old, while Quentin was 60 ; he was therefore a young man in the receptive stage. Whether the two met again in 1528, when Holbein was returning to Basle, we know not. In 1532 Holbein was again in Antwerp *en route* for England, but Quentin had then been dead two years. By universal admission, Holbein's English portraits show that he did not come into contact with Quentin in vain.

In landscape Massys was an important innovator. His great Louvain predecessor was the most advanced landscape painter of his day and impelled his followers, especially the Dutchmen, to make of landscape a serious study. A group of artists in the Meuse region developed a landscape school of their own, but they may have owed a good deal to Quentin, for according to Friedländer it was he who invented those wide-extending multifarious landscape backgrounds which we chiefly associate with Patinir. Bosch, however, had been before him. It has been customary to attribute to Patinir landscapes of this character in Quentin's pictures. One such background Patinir certainly painted for figures by his fellow-artist ; it is in the picture of the Temptation of St. Anthony at Madrid. Hulin would likewise attribute to Patinir the landscape behind the above-mentioned Leonardesque Madonna with the Lamb ; Friedländer differs. But other pictures in which Patinir had no share possess equally remarkable landscapes of

the wide-extending sort. A good example is the Crucifixion in the Liechtenstein Collection painted about 1505. Here the landscape is less reminiscent of Bouts than of David, whose favourite circular building appears in the city at the foot of a group of hills, a wide plain extending on the left to remoter mountains. No greater contrast could be chosen than that between this soft retreating distance with its airy spaciousness and the hard niggling backgrounds of Albert Bouts. Moreover, Massys' figures are in the landscape, which stretches backward and is not like a theatre drop-scene hung behind them. They possess the distinction of life, are carefully studied and soundly modelled, yet merge into their surroundings. Charming examples are two little penitent ladies, clothed only in their own hair, who sorrow very deeply and not ungracefully in the delightful companionship of flowers, grass, water, and hill-sides. The two little panels are in the J. G. Johnson Collection (Nos. 366, 367). There is a statement of no very great authority that Quentin visited the Rhine; he would have done so on the road to Italy, but if he derived his notion of hills from that river he must first have beheld it several years before 1513. An inventory of 1642 claims to include a view of a place near Liège by Quentin. How glad we should be to see it if the ascription was correct!

We may now rapidly glance at a few of Quentin's pictures in the light of the foregoing considerations as to the derivation of his art. The two early Madonnas at Brussels (Nos. 540 and 643) show how from the beginning he treated conventional subjects in a fresh and individual style. These are not, like the general run of Madonnas of the date, mere repetitions of old fixed types. Pose, models, composition—all are novel. The Child has the Brabantine square head, but the Virgin with her rich mass of flowing hair framing a sweet face is the reverse of stale, and there is humour in the way the tiny fat-faced cherubs, who hold up the curtain, peep over to get a look, like children catching a surreptitious glimpse of a country circus. The drapery and pose of the full-length version are reminiscent of the Van Eycks. The Lyons Madonna shows how the love of impossibly decorative architecture, just then so common with local painters, attracted Quentin for a moment; but the charm of the figures dominates it and the

delicacy of the workmanship delights the eye. More pleasing, perhaps, than any of these is the Aynard Madonna with its quaintly and babyishly crowing Child, who throws out His arms stiffly and fills His mother's heart with joy. Here landscape occupies the background.

An important and attractive Virgin and Child between SS. Catherine and Barbara turned up at the Linnell sale at Christie's in 1918,[1] and is in the collection of Mr. C. B. O. Clarke in London. It is a painting in tempera on linen, the figures being three-quarter lengths. It may date from about the year 1510. The Child's head is still of the cubical Brabantine type, and has not been replaced by the curly-headed infant adopted by Massys after he had come into contact with Leonardo's designs. Barbara is the same model as Salome on the wing of the Antwerp triptych. Thus the picture seems to find its place between the altar-pieces of Brussels and Antwerp. The actual painting is very delicate. The charm sought for is expressed in a graceful linear composition. The modelling renders a low relief. Age has dimmed the colours, which originally formed a bright patchwork. Such fragile works do not easily survive four centuries. If one painting of the kind has come down to us from Massys he probably painted many more. Artists of this school and period from Van Eyck to Massys are known to us mainly by their most durable works. We have to remember that they may have acquired much of their skill by practice in producing pictures in tempera on linen, most of which have perished; but many a panel-painting of finished technique, at which to-day we wonder, owes some, at least, of its accomplishment to work done in more perishable materials whose former existence is thereby implied.

The group of Crucifixions was destined to attract the imitative admiration of contemporary artists. Best of them is the Liechtenstein example already mentioned, of which there is a copy at Munich. Other versions of the same subject are in the National Gallery, the Mayer van den Bergh and Harrach (Vienna) Collections, and at Brussels. Hulin thinks the Mayer van den Bergh example the earliest. The Harrach and Brussels pictures are not by Massys himself. It is thought that one of the group may

[1] Reproduced in the *Burlington Magazine*, July 1918.

repeat on a smaller scale the composition of the great altar-piece made by our master for Notre Dame at Antwerp, which was destroyed in the religious riots of 1566. Compared with the horrible and populous Crucifixions painted by several contemporary and earlier artists, these are a contrast and a relief. They are dignified, quiet, reserved, and truly devotional pictures, before which any true Christian might pray in peace. The figures are few. The Magdalen, in not too costly attire, embraces the foot of the Cross. The Virgin is pitifully sad. The landscapes differ in all, and show a development which the reader can observe for himself. The finely painted Pietà in the Louvre belongs to this group, and possesses similar merits. The little Carstanjen wings so delightfully treated, with colouring so agreeable, and a charming appearance of simplicity, cannot fail to please every beholder. A connexion might be imagined between this bushy, curly-headed St. John and the Widener wing by Colin de Coter, but was Massys the borrower? Artists had painted saints on picture shutters for many generations, but not such as the St. Agnes here. She is fully human and lovable for her sweetness and her beauty too. It does not detract from her saintliness that she knows how to choose and to wear her clothes. An admirable taste pervades the work, and the technique is delicate and in a pleasing harmony with the design.

If Quentin Massys were generally remembered by such paintings as these he would be commonly regarded with affection; but we mainly associate him with his two great surviving triptychs, the Virgin's Kin (dated 1509) at Brussels and the Pietà of 1511 at Antwerp. Both are remarkable and, indeed, were epoch-making works, but they are not pleasing. The latter shows considerable advance beyond the former in creative power. The figures are agitated with emotion beside being more human and technically more fully realized in the third dimension of depth than ever in the North before, yet they still remain a solid group like a mass of wood-carving. Here Massys stands forth as the lineal ancestor of Rubens. In these two triptychs the great gap between the Van Eycks and the Master who followed them two and a half centuries later is visibly bridged. Massys sounded the death-knell of mediæval art, though still adhering to its forms. He

infused into them the new spirit which was then revolutionizing West European civilization.

Every artist's work becomes unfashionable a few decades after his death. His reputation has to pass through a period of eclipse; but if his work be in fact first-rate, public appreciation is bound to return to it. Thus it happened to Massys. It was in the circle of Rubens that his fame was revived. How easily Rubens could have painted the Herodias wing in his own style with no substantial alteration in essentials! He recognized in Massys a kindred spirit.

Reference has already been made to the Louvre picture of the Banker and his Wife, and its probable dependence upon an earlier work. Followers of Massys multiplied imitations both of this and of a group of two men counting money and generally called "the Misers." Probably Quentin painted a version also of that, but if he did, it too seems to have been based on an earlier lost original dating from the same period of about 1440 as the original of the Banker and his Wife. Marcantonio Michiel records having seen in the Lampognano house in Milan "el quadretto a mezze figure del patron che far conto con el fattor; fu de man de Zuan Heic, credo Memelino, Ponentino, fatto del 1440." The two originals of the time of John van Eyck, revived by Quentin's imitations or copies, produced a numerous offspring.[1]

Taking the Banker and his Wife first, there was a strict copy of it, dated 1519, in the Della Faille sale (1903). Next we have a pair of examples at Sigmaringen and Antwerp, in which a messenger is coming in behind with a letter and there are other novel details. Thirdly, we have a set of examples by or after Marinus van Reymerswael, dated in and after 1538, at Copenhagen, Dresden, Florence (Coll. Carrand), Madrid, Munich, Nantes, Valenciennes, and elsewhere. One of these, the Copenhagen picture, likewise contains the messenger-boy. On the Sigmaringen picture M. de Mély[2] discovered that, of the inscribed documents depicted, one in Flemish purports to be the half-year account of Jan Obrechts for 1534, another to record a bargain made by Master Cornelis van de Capelle, the painter who is better known as Corneille de Lyon.

[1] See Mr. Lionel Cust in the *Burlington Mag.*, February 1912, p. 252.

[2] *Monuments et Mémoires Piot*, xviii (1911).

The composition generally known as the two Bankers or the Misers, but in fact depicting Excisemen, likewise appears in several versions differing in detail from one another, but there are only two markedly different types, one represented by the National Gallery (No. 944) version, the other by examples at Antwerp (No. 244), Bologna, Cologne (Coll. Oppenheim—where now ?), Hagley, Munich (No. 136), Naples, and Windsor Castle. On a French document introduced into the Oppenheim picture, Mr. Weale also read the name of Cornelis van de Capelle, the paper professing to be a receipt for 2,000 livres received from the salt-tax on behalf of the King.

These two occurrences of the name of the painter Corneille de Lyon not unnaturally led M. de Mély to conclude that the pictures on which the name appeared and such others as closely agree with them in style were the work of that artist. He is otherwise known to us as the painter of a delicate series of portraits of French ladies and gentlemen done on a small scale in a style resembling that associated with the Clouets. Between these portraits and the office pictures there is scarcely a quality in common. The bulk of the existing versions are evidently by Marinus, and many of them are signed. Other painters also repeated them. Thus Bernard de Ryckere (1535–90) kept a regular picture factory at Antwerp and is recorded to have turned out a number of copies of the Excisemen, and some of these may be among the versions now extant. Evidently such pictures were very popular, and more popular in the grosser form given to them by Marinus than as designed by Quentin. Marinus seems almost animated by hostility to the persons depicted. There is no trace of such a feeling or of caricature in Quentin's original. His study in the Pourtalès Collection of an ugly old lover cozened out of his purse by an Antwerp courtesan was likewise copied and imitated. There is an inferior version in the Antwerp Gallery which it seems an insult to Corneille to ascribe to him. Marinus was a coarse artist who worked for the vulgar rich at Antwerp in his day. He painted other pictures in a like style: a lawyer in his office, at Munich (No. 139, dated 1542); the Call of St. Matthew, in the Northbrook Collection; St. Jerome in his cell in three different versions, in which he also followed the lead of

Massys and even more closely of Dürer. It was a misfortune for Quentin's reputation that these gross popular pictures by artists of his school were attributed to him in most of the galleries of Europe. His own originals, the Banker, the Courtesan, and St. Jerome, had none of the vulgar quality characteristic of the later versions and are exceptional in the great body of his fine work.

For such pictures, however, there was a demand, and painters, like any other kind of craftsmen, exist to supply demands. It is the aim of the best of them to create a demand for their best work, but they may not always entirely succeed. Pictures of the class we are considering were called for. Quentin himself painted a few of them and probably designed some others, such as the Bargain over a Hen at Dresden (No. 804), but in the main they were carried out by assistants in the studio. The tendency is to ascribe them to Quentin's son Jan Massys. The Old Man with a Courtesan at Antwerp (No. 566) is of this class.[1] The assistants degraded Quentin's types, and Marinus degraded them still further. He similarly imitated and coarsened Quentin's types of Madonnas and portraits. We need not further concern ourselves with him.

Incidental reference has already been made to some of Quentin's portraits, but a word must be said about them as a group. The Chicago panel shows him adopting the fifteenth century convention, though with a vividness of vision and insight that makes of a likeness a revelation. The Liechtenstein Cardinal is a statelier rendering proper to a personage of importance, but the whole body is still at rest, the face in repose. Of similar type is the Portrait of a Notary at Northwick Park, but there is something more instantaneous in the gesture of the momentarily arrested hand. When, however, we come to the pair of portraits of Erasmus and Peter Gillis we are conscious of an advance. The two pictures were painted in 1517 to be sent as a gift to Sir Thomas More, and the correspondence relating to them has been preserved. The original of the Erasmus is thought to be in the Stroganoff Collection (Rome). A tolerable copy is in the Corsini Gallery at Rome, others at Amsterdam and Hampton Court. The scholar sits in a reposeful attitude writing at his study table. Far more

[1] It has also been included in the group which M. de Mély would attribute to Corneille de Lyon.

attractive is the Gillis, whereof the original remains in Lord Radnor's collection. It brings us in contact not merely with the man but with his charm. He must have been a delightful person. We see him at a moment when his mind is active. He has just finished speaking. His face is bright, his hand in the midst of gesture, his pose a passing one. Every part of him expresses a living, thinking, communicating personality. The charm is not in the face only, but in the whole man. No such portrait had been painted before, even in Italy. It carried portraiture to a higher level and set a difficult problem for Quentin's rivals. No wonder More was pleased. What a priceless present! Similar vitality and momentariness are revealed in the Man with the pair of eye-glasses which is in the Städel Gallery at Frankfurt. Here the gesture is plainly that of one speaking, almost of a preacher. The face is even more fully expressive. All Quentin's knowledge of men and experience of life were required thus to behold, to comprehend, and to depict.

I have never seen the splendid portrait of the much portrayed John Carondelet which was in the Duchâtel Collection in Paris and is now in America in that of Mr. Havemeyer. It must have been painted before 1525, when Bernard van Orley copied the head, and I can think of no other artist at that date who could have painted it, or the original of it if it be a copy, except Quentin. As a vital presentment of the man it is even superior to the best of the portraits of the same ecclesiastic by Mabuse. The picture was at one time attributed to Sotte Cleve, but the date alone renders the attribution impossible. Here again we have the same vitality, the keen momentary understanding vision, which distinguishes the Gillis and the Frankfurt picture. Such portraits stand far above Quentin's religious works, not because he was of an irreligious cast of mind, but because he lived in a day when the best men had begun to find the actual world more interesting than any dreamland, and human nature itself a sublime subject of study. Works of this type are not less imaginative than paintings of all the encircling hierarchies of Heaven. It was a truth some men were just beginning to realize. Of such was Quentin, and for such the work of his maturest years was done. From first to last he was at strife with the difficulties of his craft. He had to express by force

the new vision, the new desires and emotions within him and the best men of his day. Hence his new schemes of colour and composition. Always he aimed at nobility. He was content with no convention, not even one of his own making. He would press forward and forward still, and so his last works are in their own way as novel as any that went before them. The Van Eycks, Hugo van der Goes, Quentin Massys—these were the four important original artists we have thus far been brought in contact with, nor need we linger to inquire which of them was greatest.

It is remarkable that, notwithstanding Quentin's force, originality, high reputation, and the influence he visibly exercised over the best of his contemporaries, he was not followed by a group of imitators, as, for instance, Roger van der Weyden and Memling were followed. Marinus and others repeated his compositions of a particular type, and Van Mander mentions an artist as excelling as a copyist of his works; there were also his sons and a pupil or two; but the generation of Antwerp painters who succeeded Quentin did not in any marked degree carry on his traditions or popularize his forms. It was a time of rapid changes, not of step-by-step development. There was one nameless artist whose work so resembles Quentin's that it was ascribed to him till Friedländer separated it and named the painter the Master of the Mansi Magdalen. The picture in question is now in the Berlin Museum.[1] It is a three-quarter length full-fronted Magdalen projected against a rocky landscape background. The figure has no real connexion with the landscape, which is like a painted hanging behind it. In style and type Quentin is closely followed; the figure may actually have been designed by him. The work is carefully done, but it lacks the master's breadth, though it, to some degree, recalls his refinement. To the same hand is now likewise referred the Munich copy of the miraculous picture of the Virgin mentioned in a previous chapter in connexion with the Bruges painter John van Eeckele. A Madonna which was shown at Bruges in 1902 (No. 372) and has since passed through more than one private collection is still close to Quentin, but has a landscape background

[1] *Jahrb. Pr. Kss.* 1915, p. 6. Hymans knew of a replica in a Rothschild Collection in Paris, and of a reduction at Antwerp (No. 243). There is also a half-length replica in the King of Rumania's Collection.

better harmonizing with the figures. The design is a modification of the type of the Virgin Kissing the Child to which Bouts gave currency. The J. G. Johnson Collection contains a full-length Salvator Mundi, in which part of the landscape is copied in reverse from Dürer's engraving of St. Eustace (B. 57). Christ wears a fine embroidered robe and holds a splendid crystal orb surmounted by a gold cross elaborately niched, buttressed, and pinnacled, and the whole picture is an effective piece of decoration, but the head of Christ lacks every trace of nobility. Half-length repetitions of this type are numerous, several from the studio of Joos van Cleve. The design is attributed to Quentin.[1] Our painter laid Dürer more emphatically under contribution in his picture of Adam and Eve at Brussels, but though the forms are Dürer's the soft modelling is characteristic of Antwerp nudes of about 1550. There is an unpleasing emphasis on their nudity. They look like people accustomed to be draped and suddenly deprived of their clothes. This weakness is a Northern failing, observable also, for example, in Cranach's pictures of this kind and in those by the painter we have next to consider. The Entombment in the Ghent Museum was likewise copied by our artist from a Dürer print, the woodcut B. 44. Quentin appears to have had several painter sons. It is possible that the Master of the Mansi Magdalen may have been one of them, but he was neither Jan nor Cornelis, because the style of both is known from existing pictures, and the list of those authentically by Jan is a fairly long one.

Jan Massys appears to have been born in 1509 at Antwerp, and was a pupil of his father, but he did not become a master in the guild till 1531, the year after Quentin's death. Brief reference has already been made to pictures supposed to have been painted by him in his father's workshop. Owing to his heretical opinions, he was banished from Antwerp in 1543 and remained away until 1558. During those years he is supposed to have spent time in Italy. I think there are also signs of his having come in contact with the work of Mabuse and with French taste. From the date of his return it was his custom to sign and date his pictures ; we can thus follow the later stages of his art with certainty. He died—it is said in poverty—before the 8th of October, 1575, and left a painter

[1] There is also an engraving by the Master with the Crab (P. 40).

son named Quentin to carry on the family craft, but without his grandfather's success.

A half-length of the Virgin Kissing the Child which is in the Church of St. James at Antwerp shows how closely at first he followed his father's traditions. It stands much nearer to him than the corresponding picture by the Mansi Master. The picture imitated is the enthroned Madonna at Berlin, but the compact and satisfying composition of the Child's legs in that is here replaced by an awkward sprawl and is an early instance of Jan's incapacity to compose the limbs of his figures satisfactorily. His heretical tendencies rendered him inapt to paint the old round of religious subjects with enjoyment; it is therefore not surprising to find him turning his attention to more modern types, and among these especially to nudes. It was for the sake of her possible nudity and personal beauty that he painted the half-length Judith which is now in the Museum at Boston.[1] This is the type of picture which is held to prove that Jan Massys studied in Italy; the softness and delicacy of the modelling does, in fact, remind us of Lombard technique. But if anyone will compare it with the nude half-length of Diane de Poitiers by François Clouet, which is at Richmond in the Cook Collection, he will, I think, find in both the same kind of peculiar nakedness which I have above referred to. That picture is assigned to about 1550, which may be the approximate date of Jan's. I suggest that both pictures were produced in a similar atmosphere and to gratify a like taste, which was French rather than Italian. It is nakedness for nakedness' sake rather than for the sake of beauty, such beauty as clothes the nudity of the Greeks, of Giorgione and of Velasquez. Another picture of the same subject which was in the Otlet sale (No. 3) is a less elaborate work, but displays the artist's striving after prettiness. This lady is not absolutely nude to the waist but covered with a perfectly transparent garment. The Venus in the original of Mabuse's lost Mars, Venus, and Cupid was similarly clad, and a like treatment in contemporary French pictures might be cited.[2]

[1] It was shown at Bruges in 1902, No. 241.

[2] For example, the Sabina Poppæa in the Geneva Museum. At Althorp is an ideal portrait of Diane de Poitiers, very like the work of Jan. See the *Burlington Magazine*, November 1913, p. 89.

It seems to me that in works of this class Jan Massys was following in the wake of Mabuse and of the Fontainebleau School rather than of any Italian. The Louvre David and Bathsheba, which is dated 1562, shows a slight further advance along the same lines, and exemplifies the artist's search for pretty models rather than any increasing power of painting beautifully. His delicate painting does not disguise the awkwardness of his composition. The faces of his women again recall Mabuse, but that master would never have been guilty of the inelegant pose of Bathsheba's limbs. The prominence of one and the ugly line and bad foreshortening of the other are so marked as to attract the attention away from the heads, on which the painter bestowed great pains. The Lot and his Daughters at Vienna (No. 991), dated 1563, belongs to the same group of works.

It is noteworthy that while Annunciations, Visitations, Passion scenes, and the old round of subjects are lacking in the list of Jan Massys' works, their place is taken by some subjects which were to be commonly treated by Rembrandt and the Protestant Dutchmen of the seventeenth century. Beside the Judiths, Bathsheba, and Lot, he painted pictures of the Healing of Tobit, Elijah and the Widow of Sarepta, Elijah and Elisha, and the chaste Susanna. The only New Testament pictures recorded by him, except the early Madonna done under Quentin's immediate influence and perhaps in his studio, are a Virgin and Joseph turned away from the inn at Bethlehem, and the picture of St. Paul writing. Here, therefore, we definitely pass out of the old cycle into the new. We have left behind the mediæval and come within the area of the modern, which it is not the purpose of these chapters to pursue. We may therefore at once pass on from Jan to his brother Cornelis Massys.

The date of Cornelis' birth was probably 1513, and he also became a master-painter in the Antwerp Guild in 1531, the same year as his brother. He died after 1579. His known pictures are few: A Prodigal Son in the Amsterdam Museum (No. 1528), which is signed and dated 1538, and another of the same subject in the D. Reimer Collection; a signed genre picture at Berlin dated 1543; a Jealous Wife, mentioned by Hymans as in the Camberlyn d'Amougies Collection at Brussels, dated 1549, and repeating the

composition of one of his engravings (B. 52). There are also landscapes at Antwerp, Berlin (No. 675), and Dessau, of which we shall have a word to say in a later chapter ; that is all, nor will I guarantee the genuineness of every one of these. Cornelis' engravings are not very important. Two are portraits of Henry VIII (dated 1544 and 1548). They depict the self-indulgent monarch in most unattractive form, a bloated and hideous creature, the self-made caricature of a human being. Life certainly took revenge on his looks if this was really his aspect. Other engravings are after Raphael and Georg Pencz. Several take us into the Old Testament cycle affected by Jan. They seem to imply that Cornelis led a wandering life. Several drawings by him exist, some signed with the same monogram as his pictures and prints. Among them are illustrations of the life of St. Elizabeth and a set of New Testament designs dated 1541.[1] They show that he could wield his pen with delicate precision, and that he adhered in his compositions to an old formula. His landscapes are his most meritorious work. In them he leans back on his father rather than on his father's friend Patinir. He was not an originating artist, and forms no link in any important chain of development.

[1] Von Eelking sale, 1902.

CHAPTER XXIII

JEROME BOSCH

Jerome Bosch van Aeken appears to have taken his second surname from the place of origin of his family (Aachen, Aix-la-Chapelle), and his first from Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc), or Bosch for short, where he was probably born and certainly lived and died. If he had not been a native of that town he must have paid for his citizenship, and of such a purchase there is no trace. "Bosch," wrote Dürer in November 1520, "is a fine town, and has a most beautiful church." That was just four years after Jerome Bosch's death. "Insignis pictor," the local record calls him, and there is every reason to suppose that he was a prosperous and well-regarded man. That same church at Bois-le-Duc was new in Jerome's day. It was not merely a stately building but contained many works of art of local make, notably painted altar-pieces, carved and gilt, whereof the manufacture and export was a profitable industry in the place. It also held six paintings by our master, all vanished now into limbo.

A striking portrait drawing of Jerome Bosch in the Arras Library (f. 275)[1] shows him in advanced years, aged certainly not less than sixty, even nearer seventy. Hence, as he died in 1516, he must have been born about 1450. He is mentioned several times in the registers of the Confraternity of Our Lady between 1488 and 1516, and it is recorded that he designed windows for a chapel in the Church in 1493 and painted a Last Judgment for Philip the Fair before 1504. That is all we are told about him by known documents. The portrait, however, is an authority of the first importance. The upper part of the face is astonishingly like Gladstone—the same eagle eye and aspect of intellectual vigour. Here is a man of intense resolution, strong, keen, competent, and both serious and humorous. One would take him

[1] There is also a wretched engraved likeness by Philip Galle in the work of Lampsonius.

for a statesman rather than a painter. Life left upon him the authentic stamp of greatness.

At Bois-le-Duc was no important painter's workshop where the young Jerome could learn his craft. Whither, then, did he proceed? Bois-le-Duc in North Brabant lies close to the border of the old County of Holland. It is almost exactly as far from Amsterdam as from Antwerp; Leyden and Delft are a little nearer to it, Haarlem is a little further away. River traffic led easily to Rotterdam, but Antwerp was an overland journey or a very roundabout one by water. Brussels was yet more remote. In the fourteen-seventies Haarlem, perhaps also Delft and Utrecht, contained important painters' workshops. It looks as though a Bois-le-Duc apprentice with little money to spend would have been attracted rather to a Dutch than to a Brussels or Louvain master. Critics have thought to observe traces of the influence of Roger and Bouts in the works of Bosch. I can discover nothing of the kind. Cohen and Friedländer hit the mark when they point to the Delft Master of the Virgo inter Virgines, who was active by 1470 at latest, as his possible master.

It is unfortunate that Bosch's early picture of the Nativity is known to us only by copies at Cologne and Brussels, but they suffice to fix its composition. The Child lies naked on a little straw in a square stone manger, breathed upon by ox and ass and adored by His parents, with a shepherd poking his head round the corner in characteristically Bosch fashion. No South Netherlandish Nativity of the period is thus arranged, but it is the composition employed by Geertgen (Kaufmann Coll.) and the Virgo Master (De Somzée Coll.). This suffices to demonstrate Bosch's Dutch affiliation. Other comparisions with the Virgo Master and with Geertgen can be made by the student for himself. Bosch, by whomsoever taught, was not anyone's follower. He was essentially original, a goer of his own ways, and that from the start. It is a mistake to think of him as a caricaturist. He was a naturalist; but he sought in life for strong and characteristic types. Others had done that before him, notably Robert Campin, whose queer-headed and postured folk in such a picture as the Madrid Marriage of the Virgin will not have been forgotten by the student; but it was not Campin who set Bosch upon the road he was to follow.

At the Exhibition of French Primitives in Paris in 1904 a picture was shown (No. 94) which is not French but evidently Dutch of about 1460 to 1470. It belonged to Mr. C. T. D. Crews. The subject is the "Ecce Homo," and the style of the work is not far removed from that of the Virgo Master. There are few figures in it, only eleven in the foreground, but each of them is a character-study, and some of the heads are of exaggerated though not unnatural physiognomy such as Bosch afterwards depicted. When he painted the same subject he also arranged it on two different levels, as in this earlier admirable work, and he likewise wrote the words proceeding out of the mouths of speakers in a line of Gothic writing exactly as in this picture.

A similar spaciousness of composition marks another early work by our master—the Adoration of the Magi, which passed from the Lippmann Collection into the New York Gallery. The scene is laid within the ruins of a castle, and the turf is as smooth between the walls as in the aisles of Tintern. In all this there is nothing particularly novel, but Bosch's incipient quaintness shows in the angels overhead and the great stretch of canvas they are spreading. The landscape background is also of the kind he made his own, far-sweeping, with tree-foliage in spots of light, as it appears in autumn when leaves are dry and the sun catches them. The distance is peopled with the caravans of the Three Kings and other entertaining little figures, all doing something, as in Geertgen's backgrounds, a contrast to the mainly quiescent background figures in those by South Netherlanders.

Another early Magi picture is in the J. G. Johnson Collection, but here the building is a ruined half-timbered farm, a kind of structure Bosch often introduced henceforward. To match the elaborate costume of the Moorish King one must go back to the "Jardin d'Amour" of Philip the Good. Similarly clothed figures appear in a Pisanello drawing at Oxford and in other contemporary Italian works. The birds perched on the roof may be noticed. Bosch loved birds and observed their varieties. He painted many and of many kinds. They are hardly ever absent from his pictures.

Van Mander observed that Bosch's drapery was not broken into the multiplicity of angular folds affected by most contemporary and earlier painters of the school. This is true of his mature period,

but broken Gothic drapery is one of the marks of his early work. A notable example of it is in the beautiful John at Patmos in the Berlin Museum. The figure of the Saint is one of the tenderest he ever painted. He is shown in profile, looking up, pen in hand ready to write. The dictating angel stands on a knoll behind, with peacock feathers embellishing displayed wings. A flat Maas landscape spreads away into the distance. John's eagle, a miserably skimpy bird, not studied from life, is stowed away in a corner of the foreground, balanced in the other corner by a little devil with an old man's head, the body and legs of a sort of beetle, and a serpentine tail, one of Bosch's early adventures into his quaint world of fiends. On the back of the panel are scenes from the Passion, not known to or now accessible by me. They may serve as link with the curious painted table-top in the Escorial. In the centre of that is an Image of Pity, around it scenes from every-day life in radiating segmental pictures, illustrative of the Seven Vices, while the corners are filled with medallions of the Four Last Things: Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell. The folk incidents are quite original and are intended to be truthful to the appearance and manners of the day. They are freely and easily designed by an artist who did not need to borrow compositions from anyone.

A pair of wings in the J. G. Johnson Collection, which is unusually rich in the works of Bosch, are known to me only by photographs kindly sent to me by their owner. In one there are a couple of adoring Shepherds, in the other a group of the Magi on horseback beholding the appearance of the Star in the East. Perhaps they belong to a slightly later period, but may find mention here. They are at all events relatively early works. The search for peculiar types of countenance is not pronounced, but the tendency is visible. The panels are not of exactly the same dimensions and do not look like a pair of wings as the compositions do not balance, but they are of contemporary make. Both are admirably composed and the play of emotion that runs through the Magi group endows it with a vivid sense of life and actuality. Each of the nine several heads wears a hat of different fashion, intended to suggest Orientalism, for it was the headgear of Orientals that struck the Europeans of those days as their distinguishing

peculiarity. It was only necessary to reproduce a turban or a fez to impose upon the popular audience of a mystery-play. The costumes worn by actors rather than actual observation of rare visitors from the East equipped Bosch and his contemporaries with designs for the Wise Men of the East and other Oriental characters.[1]

A curious picture called the "Curse of Folly" is not easy to place, but clearly belongs to Bosch's early period. It is in the Prado. The Dutch say of an eccentric person, "He has a stone in his head." Around the oval panel on which the subject is painted there is a legend in large Gothic letters which means, "Sir, cut out the stone. My name is Bibbert Das." The significance of the name escapes us. The fat fool is tied into a chair, and the operator, who wears a thing like a metal fool's-cap or an inverted funnel, is cutting into the crown of his bald head. A priest is encouraging the patient and holds in his hand a jug which may be imagined full of some comforting stimulant. The goodman's wife leans on a table and watches the progress of affairs, but why the leech should have chosen the top of her head to carry his book (if the book be his) instead of laying it on the table remains a mystery. The group is simply composed and placed in the open air before a wide flat landscape. Bosch has tried to imagine how such a performance might actually have occurred and so to depict it truthfully. The well-painted picture is the earliest known illustration of a proverb in pictorial form. Such subjects became popular at a later date; with Bosch this was a novelty. The picture must have been surprising and delightful to a public fed up with Madonnas and the normal round of sacred subjects.

The St. Anthony triptych in the Vienna Gallery shows how our artist was advancing. It may be regarded as marking the transition from his early to his middle period. The Penitence of St. Jerome is the subject of the central panel; the wings are devoted to St. Anthony and St. Giles. We have not yet arrived at the complicated and multitudinous compositions which Bosch was to produce later on, but the signs of what was coming are here apparent.

[1] Another late addition to the J. G. Johnson Collection is a Christ among the Doctors, likewise ascribed to Bosch.

The Jerome panel is relatively simple compared with what was to follow, but even so the reader would not be pleased if two or three pages were here devoted to a catalogue of its many details. Suffice it to say that the Saint, clothed in Gothic drapery, kneels before what appears to be a sculptured throne with a tree growing out of it. The sculptures are evidently intended to be emblematic, but of what I cannot say. One represents a slender figure (perhaps a skeleton) in the act of mounting a unicorn. In the middle distance is a fanciful arched island rising out of water, and there are a stork and beasts and birds. This bit of water-landscape is very like the work of Geertgen. An extraordinary tree which turns to metal and ends above in a flaming chimney no doubt signified something to Bosch. The Temptation of St. Anthony on the left wing is the first of his many renderings of this subject. There are plenty of quaint little devils in the foreground, but the striking feature is the distant landscape and the chapel and bridge silhouetted against the glare of a destructive fire.

Bosch's landscapes, though full of details minutely studied from nature, are far indeed from being transcripts of actual views. They are as imaginary as his figures, and form an essential part of his pictorial compositions. Every subject he had to paint was beheld by him as a complete mental image provoked by his imagination. Actual objects and persons seen and stored away in his memory were the materials with which his fancy played, and out of which he created and with his mind's eye beheld sights wonderful and unprecedented. He painted visions of a world inhabited by a flora and fauna of his own. Landscape with him is as much designed in relation to the subject as are the figures. In this respect Bosch was an innovator. Moreover, in consequence of his desire to fill all the space at his disposal with emblematic comments, subsidiary groups, and queer incarnations, he wanted his landscape to be extensive—as much of it as he could get. He therefore imagined himself aloft, as on the top of a cliff, looking down upon a wide-spread region. Thus he came to construct those panoramic far-extending views which were taken up by later painters, such as Patinir, and are more commonly associated with them than with their originator. Such landscapes are not found in the pictures of his earliest period. They are common in his latest.

The Magi triptych in the Prado—an excellent painting—is a good example of about the date we have now reached. The Adoration is proceeding in front of a ruined, half-timber cottage. The Kings' caravans appear in the extensive landscape upon which we look down. Far away is a wonderful city with strange pyramidal and other buildings, perhaps intended to be Indian. Though the spectator is supposed to be in the air for the view, he is looking at the figures from the ground-level. By this strained convention they occupy the lowest five-fifteenths of the panels, the landscape the middle seven-fifteenths, and the sky the top three-fifteenths. The effect is not that of nature, but it would satisfy an unsophisticated eye. A like convention was employed by the artists of China and Japan. Any convention is permissible if the result pleases the people for whom the artist works. It is a mistake to suppose that artists are tied to nature or bound by optical laws. Art is absolutely free as to means; the end is the test.

In this picture Peeping Toms are multiplied. One has scrambled on to the roof—a gnome of a fellow. Donors and saints are portrayed on the wings and prove that Bosch was no great portrait-painter. Their drapery with its long straight line exemplifies his new style. Justi remarks on the peculiar character of the gifts offered by the Kings. The first has laid upon the ground a golden model of Abraham's sacrifice. The second offers something curious in a pan; the third an ostrich-egg adorned with paintings and surmounted by a hawk.

The maturity of our artist is signalized by the splendid round picture of the Crowning with Thorns, which is in the Escorial. The faces are its striking feature. Later on Bosch would have caricatured them all, but now he studies them from the life. Such folk might exist. None is an impossibility. On the left is sharp-nosed Annas, the high-priest, with a crystal-headed staff of office in his hand—as mean-looking a personage as can be imagined, and comic withal, with his tuft of hair pulled out at a hole in the top of his cap! The self-satisfied shock-headed gentleman alongside of him is another type, thrown into the shade by the adjoining big-hatted soldier, a real brute, who enjoys the pain he is causing as he presses the thorns into Christ's head. The other two heads

on the right are equally brutal, but none is mere brute and no more. They have their different characters and qualities ; each is a peculiar individual with brutality added. The head of Christ in the midst is the finest Bosch ever attained. It is more than that of a sufferer. He suffers, but maintains His dignity. Several other versions of this subject are now generally stated to be school imitations of this original. I do not believe it. They may be copies, but behind them originals existed which Bosch painted at a later date. We shall return to them presently. Later versions are more summary ; this has been wrought out with elaborate care. To the same period must have belonged that composition of the Blind leading the Blind, an engraving of which was published in mid-sixteenth century by Jerome Cock. The leading blind man, who is already in the ditch, repeats the type of a figure in the Crowning with Thorns. His fellow is about to follow him, while another ditch further back is receiving a second pair. Peter Bruegel was to take a suggestion from this, as we shall hereafter learn. Whether the original was a picture or a drawing is not recorded, but that Bosch did paint pictures of the misfortunes of the blind is proved by the Royal Spanish Inventories.[1]

Another roundel, miscalled the Prodigal Son, a most interesting and original picture in the Figdor Collection (Vienna), may, I think, be assigned to about this date. A single, full-length figure in the centre of the panel holds the spectator's attention ; all else is subsidiary. But is this really the Prodigal Son ? What should he be doing with that big basket on his back and the cat's skin hanging from it ? It is a pedlar who, likely enough, had killed the cat and stolen the skin, for I am sorry to say that he was a thief, and is painted at a moment of crime. What is he doing with two hats ? The one in his hand has just been stolen from the hatless and otherwise occupied individual in the background. It is, indeed, a fisherman's hat and has his float and cast pinned on to it. The very long fishing-rod leans up against the Swan Inn in the background. The thief is hurrying away unobserved, for the barmaid is being kissed by a soldier and the old woman in the kitchen is probably poor-sighted. An owl and a dog alone take notice of the crime. Inexplicable by me is the curious fact that

[1] *Jahrb. Pr. Kss.*, 1889, pp. 141–4.

Bosch has given to his thief the most refined face he ever painted. One would have supposed that here was a place for some degraded type, such as he afterwards introduced into many of his pictures. It will be found, however, that those types were a late development with him. Even his devil in the John at Patmos has the face of a gentleman. A thief-pedlar, however, might have been something less of an aristocrat.

So pleased was Bosch with this picture that he reproduced the central figure in all essentials on the outsides of the wings of the Hay-waggon triptych now in the Escorial. The pedlar is older, no less refined, and not visibly dishonest. He certainly is taking no part in the highway robbery that is going on in the middle distance, but appears to be hurrying away from so dangerous a neighbourhood. Let us hope that time has taught him honesty and that the remote gallows are not for him, but for the ruffianly robbers. When the wings are opened we find ourselves faced by one of Bosch's complicated Allegories or "Dreams," as they were called in his day. What it all signifies is a problem scarcely worth laborious solution. The left wing is devoted to the Fall of angels and men, the right to Hell; obviously, the intervening subject must tell of sin, its beginning on the one hand, its end on the other. Why the emblem chosen should be a hay-waggon, joyfully dragged Hellwards by devils, the reader must discover for himself. A crowd of common folk accompany it and try to climb on, many of them falling under the wheels and coming to grief. A cortège of Pope and Princes follows. On the top of the hay two couples, man and woman, are enjoying themselves, with a devil in front blowing a horn and an angel kneeling behind and looking up to Christ in clouds overhead. There are also a number of people doing things in the foreground. The whole is full of fancy, exuberant, exhaustless. The devils are of all sorts—not so astonishing in the ingenuity of their invention as those Bosch created later, but varied enough. Equally great is the variety of the men and women, their attitudes, gestures, and characters. Such varied dramatic activity had appeared in no earlier work. It is all Bosch's own invention. This kind of picture was a great success; it became popular with wealthy patrons, especially in Spain; the artist was doubtless soon deluged with commissions

for more of such Dreams. He had hit the public taste, and was now in a fair way to become the popular "insignis pictor" of his epitaph.

The Temptation of St. Anthony triptych at Lisbon and the panels of Heaven and Hell at Venice seem to be of about this period. The former was certainly a popular work, for more copies and imitations of it still exist than of any other picture by Bosch. The connexion between it and the Vienna example described above is slight. The curious throne-like object has now grown into a tower covered with pictures (the Golden Calf, the Grapes of Eshcol, etc.). A distant fire is beautifully painted, and the number of incidents has grown so great that both wings also are full of them. Queer devils have invaded the sky, and some are marvellously lit up like high cloudlets at sunset. A few exaggerated facial types make their appearance, but they are still a minority. The horizon line is relatively low, and the whole composition maintains a certain unity, and is not broken to pieces as in Bosch's later works of the kind. As for the meaning of all the incidents, let some more patient student work it out. The whole thing is like nothing so much as a scene in a modern Revue, and the logical connexion of its parts seems on about that level, but what would a manager not give for the aid of a designer with this kind and degree of queer fancy ?

Bosch was probably prouder of his St. Anthony triptych at Lisbon than of his single panel devoted to the same Saint in the Prado, but the latter is more attractive to a modern eye by reason of its relative simplicity. Anthony cowers in the foreground of a delightful and restricted landscape with great trees near at hand and copses further off, such as Gerard David afterwards painted. The little devils are more quaint than ever, some of them resembling mechanical toys, yet alive. Bosch possessed the Dickens-like quality of being able to make incredible creatures live. His instinct for mechanisms would have made him much at home in the twentieth century. A fortified Elephant, of which he drew a design, foretold the "Tanks." His little fiends here are small and mostly unobtrusive, tucked away in corners or perambulating in the distance. Bosch conceived of St. Anthony as a person like himself, tortured by his own feverish fancy ! Even the chapel in the background is fantastically roofed.

Two other important pictures of this period are Christ bearing the Cross in the Escorial and the Crucifixion of St. Julia at Vienna. The nature of the subject in each case involves the presence of men of low type, but there is only a single head that can be called fantastic. Both compositions are noble in character, and show Bosch at his best. Two buffetings of Christ are generally regarded as the work of painters imitating the roundel of the Crowning with Thorns. Examples known to me are one which was in the Magniac sale (in 1892) and one now in the J. G. Johnson Collection (No. 353). The former certainly is not and the latter may not be the handiwork of Bosch, but both must repeat independent designs by him. The Magniac picture is the earlier in type and is marked by the introduction of a head which is a caricature. In the Johnson example the exaggeration of repulsive features is carried further. We are standing on the verge of the last period of Bosch's career, when his fancy ran riot and the facial types it played with more and more exceeded the limits of natural forms. The Ecce Homo in the Kaufmann Collection shows progress in that direction, though in the blackguard crowd below Bosch may not have been intentionally distorting the human countenance to the degree of caricature, but merely endeavouring to depict evil men as he actually conceived the worst might look. In all three pictures now under consideration we have examples of hideous faces seen in profile with the mouth like a slit in a turnip, very characteristic of Bosch's late works.

In another Ecce Homo in the J. G. Johnson Collection (No. 353) the faces are more madly evil and drawn in a yet more masterly fashion. If Bosch had carried exaggeration no further than here, criticism might have been silent. It is curious that as he devoted more of his attention and inventiveness to the vile creatures in Christ's surroundings he was less and less successful with the face and figure of Christ Himself, and this failure is already notable in the Johnson picture. It becomes more pronounced in the Pilate washing his hands at Princeton, N.J., and the Christ bearing His Cross at Ghent—two of the master's latest pictures in which facial distortions are carried almost as far as in the caricatures of Leonardo. In the last-mentioned the whole area of the picture is practically occupied by heads; in the other the amount of figures or drapery visible is unimportant.



1. QUENTIN MASSYS. CARONDELET. COLL. HAVEMEYER.—p. 328.



2. MASTER OF THE MANSI MAGDALEN.—p. 329.



3. JEROME BOSCH. THE PEDLAR. COLL. FIGDOR.—p. 341.



4. JEROME BOSCH. ECCE HOMO. PHILADELPHIA.—p. 344.

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The Last Judgment in the Academy at Vienna is practically a "Dream" picture. The Paradise wing retains a good deal of charm, but the Judgment and the Hell are a mass of unrelated groups and details full of ingenuity and wild fancy but lacking pictorial cohesion. They might be cut up into a score of separate pictures, almost with profit. The Pleasures of the World triptych at the Escorial is wilder, fuller of strange conceits beyond counting. In the background are astonishing contraptions which might be fountains or buildings or excrescences of rock and tree gone wrong. We are further than ever from nature, and the Dream has become the wildest kind of nightmare. A strange erection of similar type surmounts the peculiar Temple from which Christ is driving forth the money-changers in the picture belonging to Sir Claude Phillips. If the actual painting of that work was not done by Bosch the design was certainly his, and surely no one will deny the pictorial quality of the whole. Small wonder that these astonishing compositions attracted people in a day little used to such revolutionary originality. Nowadays nothing of the kind can surprise us, but at the close of the Middle Age when tradition was very strong, and it required a world-upheaval to escape from the bondage of scholastic formula, the originality and unconventionalism of Bosch must have seemed astonishing. It is no less remarkable that his innovations did not interfere with his orthodoxy in the opinion of the authorities of his day. Long after he was dead the question was raised whether in fact his pictures were heretical. It was replied that they could not be because the grim and gloomy Philip II of Spain had hung with them the rooms in which he lived and died. Nor was he the only princely admirer of Bosch's works. They enjoyed a wide popularity in the artist's lifetime, and were sought after both in Italy and Spain, especially in Spain. Justi has found mention of no less than thirty-six in Royal possession.

The engravings which Alart du Hameel (ob. 1509) made from Bosch's designs brought his art into the homes of middle-class folk. As late as the advanced sixteenth century the enterprising Antwerp publisher of engravings, Jerome Cock, had no small success with the issue of prints made after Bosch's drawings and pictures. Bosch must have been a prolific draughtsman. Existing

drawings by him are many. Several are reproduced in Paul Lafond's work on the master. No one, however, has yet devoted the needed research to draw up a complete list and distinguish between the genuine and the false. Thus an excellent drawing of a festivity in a peasant's house or inn, which is in the Albertina, has been twice reproduced as by Bosch. The composition is his, and an engraving of it was published by Cock, but the drawing in question is not by him. There is a genuine study for part of it in the British Museum depicting a disgusting episode of drunkenness. The draughtsman has introduced a fool's bauble behind the sufferer, and this same bauble lies in the foreground of the engraving, but does not appear at all in the Albertina drawing, which is the work of a clever sixteenth century copyist, and used to be attributed to Peter Bruegel.

A slight and much damaged pen-and-ink drawing in the Louvre is interesting as an idea for a picture of a Charlatan performing the Three Thimble and Pea trick at a village fair before a group of stupid and astonished yokels. An entertaining picture of the same subject (a composition obviously connected with the drawing) is in the Municipal Museum at St. Germain-en-Laye, and has been ascribed to Bosch. There was also a variation of it with added incidents in the Crespi Collection (Milan). Neither is now accepted as genuine, but they must represent a lost original. Similarly, a Louvre drawing and a picture closely corresponding to it in the Benoit Collection in Paris represent a lost picture of a jollification in a boat dating from Bosch's middle period.

His life was long and active and he was a prolific painter, yet the number of his extant pictures does not exceed thirty, although a great many reached the relative safety of important royal and other collections at an early date. The reason is that he frequently painted in tempera upon linen, a process of short durability. Even his panels are thinly painted. He was too exuberant to be willing to spend the time on a picture which the method in general vogue then involved. A fair number of works by him, now lost, are commemorated by copies, but these have not yet been critically sorted out from the imitations intended to be in his style made in numbers by such second-rate artists as Jan Mandijn and Peter Huys.

With Bosch at second-hand we need not here concern ourselves. Enough of his genuine work survives to enable us to appraise him as a man, and the important contribution he made to the art treasures of his country and the traditions of the school. As a landscape painter he was influential upon his contemporaries. As a painter of genre his influence was stronger after he had been dead for many years than during his lifetime. One of his highest glories is the parental art-relation in which he stood to the great Peter Bruegel. Of that we shall have more to say hereafter. Here we have been concerned only with his own works, and it is with unusual reluctance that we take leave of a painter so refreshingly original compared with the dreary traditionalists who have occupied so much of our attention.

CHAPTER XXIV

JOACHIM DE PATINIR AND HIS FOLLOWERS

Few facts are known about Joachim de Patinir's life. He was probably born at Bouvignes[1] about the year 1475. In 1515 he bought the freedom of the Antwerp painters' guild, and in 1520 a house in the Rue Courte l'Hôpital in that city. There Dürer visited him. The two artists must have got on well together, for there are several references to Joachim in Dürer's diary. Thus in August 1520 he writes: "Master Joachim has once dined with me and his apprentice once.[2] I made a tinted drawing for the painters. . . . Master Joachim's apprentice has again dined with me. I gave Master Joachim one florin's worth of prints for lending me his apprentice and his colours, and I gave his apprentice three ——(?) worth of prints." In March 1521 he notes, "I dined with Master Adriaen [Horebouts], Secretary to the Council of Antwerp, and he gave me the little panel painted by Master Joachim; it represents Lot with his Daughters." Next month he records having "drawn with the metal-point the portrait of Master Joachim and made him another likeness beside with the metal-point." The portrait drawing is not known to exist, but the engraved likeness of Patinir, wrongly attributed by Bartsch to Dürer (B. 108), was probably copied from it. The aspect of that is our only authority for the approximate date of Patinir's birth. A few days later (May 5) we read, "Master Joachim, the good landscape painter,

[1] Friedländer points out this confusion between Joachim and Henry Patinir in Van Mander's account: Joachim Patinir was born at Dinant according to Van Mander, at Bouvignes according to Guicciardini. Henry Patinir was born at Bouvignes according to Van Mander, at Dinant according to Guicciardini. Van Mander states (in his second edition) that Joachim Patinir became a Master at Antwerp in 1535 (instead of 1515); it was Henry Patinir who became Master in 1535. Henry Patinir may be Herri met de Bles and may have been Joachim's nephew.

[2] Thus Patinir did have at least one apprentice in Antwerp, notwithstanding the silence of the guild books. This is not the only instance of their incompleteness in entering the names of apprentices.

asked me to his wedding [his second marriage], and showed me all honour ; and I saw two fine plays there, and the first was especially pious and devout." We may easily guess that that second likeness which Dürer drew for his friend was of the lady so soon to be his bride. A fortnight afterward Dürer drew for Joachim " four small St. Christophers on grey paper " touched with white. A pen-and-ink drawing, dated 1521, in the Berlin Print Room, with nine St. Christophers sketched on it, may be connected with this possibly more finished design. The obvious intention was that Patinir should introduce the figures into the foreground of landscapes he contemplated painting. Finally, in June, shortly before Dürer started away to return home, he gave his friend a set of prints by Hans Baldung. Patinir died three years later, in 1524.

As Patinir did not settle at Antwerp till he was about forty years of age, he must have received his education and practised his art for fifteen years or so elsewhere. His pictures bear traces of the influence of two masters, Jerome Bosch and Gerard David, but how and in what order these influences were applied we can only infer. Bois-le-Duc, up against Holland, and Bouvignes on the Meuse, lie very far apart, and Bruges is not much nearer. It is worthy of remark, as pointed out originally by Weale, that the name inscribed immediately above Patinir's in the Antwerp guild-books is Gerard David's. The two may have gone to Antwerp together ; Patinir may have been David's assistant and worked especially on his landscape backgrounds. Under that supposition, did David employ him because he was a useful landscape background man ? Or did he become proficient in landscape as the result of David's teaching ? Such questions are easy to ask, but convincing answers are hard to come by. In and after Patinir's mature days a group of artists, mainly Mosan, distinguished themselves as landscape painters. That is not a surprising fact, for it was the Mosan Hubert van Eyck who invented landscape art. Patinir may have brought his particular faculty with him to Bruges and enriched and developed it there in David's workshop.

If we take the half-length Virgin in a landscape which belongs to Mr. Heseltine as an early work by Patinir[1] we may conclude from

[1] Hulin thinks it one of his latest works, but this seems to me quite impossible. If it be by Patinir at all, it must be very early. The type of the Virgin recalls the early

it that his first landscapes possessed no very marked qualities of their own, but resembled the ordinary backgrounds of the date. Here we do not meet with David's rock-cliffs and the gently domed, down-like surfaces above them; nor is there a river or any sweep of vision over a wide expanse. In fact, in this picture there is little trace of influence by Gerard David and none by Jerome Bosch. From it we should conclude that Patinir was apprenticed to neither of these artists. On the other hand, if we cast an eye down the succession of David's pictures we find in the Virgin of the J. P. Morgan Collection, which was painted about 1510, a landscape differing from those that had gone before. Moreover, in this picture the basket makes its appearance for the first time, lying on the ground beside the Virgin; and it is important to observe that this same basket, though not found in the original Madonna by David which is in the Stoop Collection, is introduced into a copy of it which belonged to Don Pablo Bosch and another at Antwerp (No. 47). The copyist may have been Patinir. A similar basket appears also in Patinir's own pictures, such as the Rests by the Way at Berlin, and in the Prado, another at Brussels with figures by Joos van Cleve, and the Kaufmann triptych. The picture last mentioned is in close relation with Bruges art of the early sixteenth century. The saint on the sinister wing might almost have stepped out of the Grimani Breviary, and the John Baptist is only a degree removed from Memling. The St. Christopher at Madrid is in type and scale likewise reminiscent of the same giant in the Grimani manuscript.

The Preaching of John the Baptist which was in the Peltzer Collection, and to a less degree the signed Baptism at Vienna, may preserve a definite reminiscence of David's Baptism, which was finished about 1502. The remarkable landscape in that picture was clearly David's own, and marked a decided advance in the study of nature. In David's studio, at the time when work was being done on the central panel, there must have been much talk about landscape and about the careful drawing of plants and flowers from nature—subjects then very interesting to the best painters

Cologne School with the pointed forehead disproportionately high in relation to the features. Its globular form resembles the type employed by Mostaert. The attribution of the picture to Patinir is, to say the least, doubtful.

and miniaturists in Bruges. We know from the lawsuits of Albert Cornelis that a master-painter was only tied down by his contract to paint the flesh-parts in his picture, and might employ assistants for the rest, that is to say, for draperies and landscapes. It is hardly likely that David, then a very busy artist, would have failed to use such liberty in the actual painting of so considerable a landscape background as that behind his Baptism. If he did so, and if in fact Patinir was his assistant, it is on this very background that he may first have been employed. That would account for the reminiscences of it observable in the pictures I have named, especially in the Peltzer panel, where the preaching goes on under a clump of trees, such as David invented. The resemblance in the Vienna picture, which is later, is less close.

As long as Patinir worked on the backgrounds of David's pictures he would have been carrying out David's designs, not his own. If, however, David at any time allowed Patinir to design as well as paint landscape backgrounds for him, I should look for them in such pictures as the Salting St. Jerome and the J. P. Morgan Rest by the Way. The contrast between the landscapes behind the Salting and Frankfurt Jeromes by David is striking, the latter being as characteristic of David as the former is the reverse. When David returned from Antwerp, leaving Patinir behind to settle down there, the pictures which issued from the Bruges workshop were markedly devoid of extensive landscape backgrounds. Not till we come to the National Gallery Magi (wrongly called a mere school picture) do we find one again, and that is in its important part a copy of the village background used by David in the paintings of his earliest Dutch period. In his latest pictures, the Dingwall Descent and the Berlin Crucifixion, landscapes appear once more, but of a new type and perhaps marking the engagement of a new landscape assistant. For the foregoing reasons it seems to me probable that Patinir spent the years approximately from 1500 to 1515 in the employ of Gerard David. If that were so, it would explain why so few independent works by him are discoverable which can be assigned to a pre-Antwerp period. The Heseltine Virgin (?), the Kaufmann triptych, the Peltzer Preaching, the Prado Rest by the Way, and possibly the Johnson Assumption of the Virgin, may be grouped together as perhaps made at Bruges. I

should also add that Patinir once at least co-operated with Isenbrant, who copied for him some figures in a Dürer design to which he added the landscape. The picture, which I have not seen, is a Flight into Egypt, and was in the Thiem Collection at San Remo.

We assume that when Patinir arrived in Antwerp he had had little experience in the design and composition of figure subjects. Perhaps it was now that he painted the remarkable picture in the Wesendonk Collection (Bonn) which is a landscape pure and simple, peopled only by small figures of huntsmen and lovers in the foreground and with tiny masses of soldiers further back storming a castle and looting a village. Here we meet with what anyone would call a typical Patinir view, beheld from a high standpoint and ranging over a wide and deep extent of hilly country. Some particular military event may be commemorated. The scene is full of incident and detail, so that the spectator can, as it were, wander about in the picture with continual entertainment. Yet the pictorial quality of the whole is not lost. One wonders why, when Patinir had thus hit upon a kind of subject altogether suited to his tastes and powers, he did not confine himself thenceforward to paintings of this type. Probably purchasers were still in the bondage of habit, and though they liked landscapes they also felt it proper that their pictures should carry religious titles. The presence of the basket in the Rests by the Way at Berlin and in the J. G. Johnson Collection suggests that these also cannot have been painted long after Patinir left Bruges. In the latter we again meet with a regiment of soldiers. The influence of Antwerp is perhaps manifested in the jutting and rather fantastic rocks which rise into the sky and were intended to produce a romantic effect. In both pictures they are employed tentatively. For the Berlin "Rest," Patinir borrowed the figures of the Virgin and Child from Robert Campin, repeating in futile fashion in the open air the gesture of the Virgin holding forth her hand to warm it at a fire. This is a proof, if proof were needed, how desperately hard up for invention our artist was when figures were in question. He could manage little figures in the distance like the companies of soldiers. It was those on a large scale in the foreground that were too much for him. A crowd of small figures violently active animates the middle distance of a Martyrdom of St. Catherine which exists in two

versions. The original passed through the hands of Mr. Langton Douglas and has been lost sight of. The other, a school replica with some variations, is in Vienna Museum (No. 1093). The view is from high ground looking down upon a fortified place on the banks of an estuary, of course with jutting rocks, but the composition is not forced, nor is the distance unduly flattened out.

Soon after Patinir was settled in Antwerp he must have formed good relations with several of the prominent figure-painters there, including the greatest, Quentin Massys. The two co-operated in a picture of the Temptation of St. Anthony which is in the Prado, and Patinir evidently exerted himself to make the background worthy of his distinguished partner. A Rest by the Way in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts [1] likewise appears to exemplify the co-operation of the same pair, but in this, according to Friedländer, the landscape is copied from the middle panel of the Kaufmann triptych, with alterations which are not in the manner of Patinir, so that Quentin may here have availed himself of the assistance of one of Patinir's pupils. Quentin himself was a considerable innovator in landscape, as we have seen, and the two artists must have had at least one keen interest in common. The Master of the Half-lengths, according to Friedländer, painted the figures in three existing landscapes by Patinir—a Virgin at Copenhagen, a John at Patmos in the National Gallery, and a Magi at Munich. Van Mander knew of a picture in which Joos van Cleve and Patinir co-operated. Though that has disappeared, a "Rest" in the Brussels Gallery (with the basket) has been pointed out as a plain instance of such co-operation. The trouble about it is, according to Friedländer, that this is no isolated instance of a landscape of Patinir's type in one of Joos' pictures, but that his landscapes generally are such; from which we may conclude either that he painted landscapes in close imitation of Patinir, or that Patinir painted several landscapes for him. We shall return to this question hereafter. Finally, as was stated above, when Dürer was in Antwerp, Patinir, if he could not get him to paint foreground figures for him, succeeded at least in extracting from him four designs of St. Christopher. If he used them the pictures are not now forthcoming.

[1] Reproduced in the *Bulletin* of the Institute for November 1914.

It must have been at Antwerp that Patinir came in contact with the work of Jerome Bosch and was considerably impressed by it. Without that impression he would never have painted the Heaven and Hell which is in the Prado. These regions occupy the two sides of the picture and are separated by the broad Styx, stretching straight away into the distance, with Charon ferrying a wretched little individual across. Hell is a simplified Bosch with a David wood in the foreground; Heaven an undulating country mounting upward from low woods in which white angels roam. A great crystal fountain rising out of it feeds the lagoon. Bosch again counts for a good deal in the St. Jerome at the Prado and that belonging to Mr. Henry Oppenheimer, while the ruinous half-timber hut and the upper chamber in the branches of a tree in the Escorial St. Christopher might have come out of one of his pictures.

Though Patinir's surviving pictures are few, the number attributed to him in the catalogues of galleries and sales is large. Most are the work of imitators, a proof of the artist's popularity and influence upon contemporary craftsmen. He was less of an innovator in landscape than has generally been supposed. There is little in any work of his that had not been previously accomplished by Jerome Bosch, David, or Quentin Massys, but what they did incidentally he did professionally. He summed up and gave currency to the new style, and his views, instead of being subsidiary to the figures in the foreground, reduced such figures to minor importance. It is impossible here to devote more than a few lines to Patinir's many imitators. To draw a clear distinction between them and the painters who treated landscape according to what soon became a general convention is hardly possible. We may say that Patinir fixed that convention and gave it currency. It is of interest to observe how it was utilized and by what further developments it was followed.

There is in the National Gallery a well-known river-view probably on the Meuse, a landscape pure and simple, of higher merit than any up to that time painted. It used to be ascribed to Patinir as a matter of course, but he did not paint it, nor has the name of its author yet been revealed. The suggestion that he may have been Hans van der Elburcht is unacceptable. He was an

inferior painter who adopted Patinir's conventions—the foreground wood, the isolated slender tree in front, land undulating down to water, rocks leaning over to one side, and so forth. Thus we judge from his single known picture, a small predella panel with the Fishing of St. Peter, once part of the altar-piece of the Fishermen in Antwerp Cathedral. A better artist than this Hans was Lucas Gassel of Helmond, who worked perhaps in Brussels, perhaps also in Antwerp. He was a few years younger than Patinir, and a harder, heavier painter. He adopted Patinir's exaggerated rocks jutting up into points, but clothed them with a sparse vegetation, and treated the wide-extending parts of his views in a more summary fashion, making them appear to contain far more details than a closer inspection reveals. The suggestion is made in a later chapter that he painted the landscape backgrounds in at least two of Joos van Cleve's pictures. Quentin Massys' son Cornelis likewise devoted attention to landscape, and there are signed examples of his work in this kind in the Galleries at Antwerp, Berlin, and Dessau. It is scarcely correct to call them imitations of Patinir. The Antwerp example shows a wide vista hedged by fantastic rocks but the land-forms are for the most part carefully studied from nature and the blending of buildings with them is well effected. The style is borrowed rather from Quentin than from Patinir.

" Herri met de Bles," who was probably the above-mentioned Henry Patinir of Bouvignes, has been stripped—he and his supposed school—of the multitude of Mannerist pictures to which we shall hereafter devote a chapter. He remains a very ragged torso in much need of the restoration which students will, no doubt, presently effect. Van Mander professes to know little about him except what his then existing pictures could tell, and they were " mostly landscapes patched about with trees, rocks, and towns and peopled with numerous figures. He made," adds our author, " a number of little pictures." They were marked by patience and ease in the execution. He records that this artist's pictures were widely scattered, especially in Italy, where he enjoyed much celebrity, and that the Emperor possessed some of them. Were the four landscapes now at Vienna (Nos. 667, 670, 671, 672) of that number ? Van Mander knew of a large landscape in which a pedlar was asleep

under a tree and monkeys were pillaging his pack. Peter Bruegel made a drawing of this subject which Jerome Cock had engraved and published; and there exists at Dresden (No. 806) a painting which may be the very one mentioned by Van Mander. It contains an owl in a hole in a tree-trunk, and that is stated to have been the artist's mark, though it frequently occurs in pictures with which he had no connexion.

Among pictures in Italian Galleries attributed to him on reasonable grounds we may mention a landscape with miners at work, in the Uffizi (No. 730); also four pictures at Naples—John baptizing, Christ walking on the water, and two of the Good Samaritan. None of these pictures are known to me. A Preaching of John Baptist at Brussels (No. 40) from the Schonlank sale (1896), a St. Christopher which was shown at Düsseldorf in 1904 (No. 189), a Good Samaritan in Namur Museum, and a hill-side view in a Cologne sale (Nov. 1901, No. 53) may likewise be mentioned as forming with the preceding a body of work apparently homogeneous and reasonably attributable to this master. Of the foregoing, the pictures which appear to be the earlier, such as the Vienna Rest by the Way (No. 667), approximate in style to Joachim de Patinir's, and confirm the impression that our artist was his pupil, but as he advanced in years he developed a style of his own which approximates to that exemplified by Lucas Gassel. He multiplies detail to a fussy extent, indulges in fantastic rocks and such impossibilities as hills perforated by a supposedly natural arch or tunnel. In the St. Christopher of the Brenken Collection (Düsseldorf Exhibition) the figure of the Saint is copied from Dürer, but the landscape is all his own. It shows us a strait or fiord shut in by jutting hills. A storm rages on the water (though not in the trees), and threatens to wreck a ship, while others lie calmly at anchor. A whale drawn up on the shore is being flensed. The composition is more crowded and enclosed than usual in landscapes of that age. The artist's desire was to realize romance, and that must be counted unto him for merit. The Cologne picture is more abnormal and more modern. Such figures as it contains have to be sought for, so unimportant are they. The subject is just a hill-side scene between trees sloping up to a domed wooded summit. There are open patches of grass and there is a cottage, but otherwise naught save



1. J. DE PATINIR. HEAVEN AND HELL. MADRID.—p. 354.



2. MATHIAS COCK (?). BERLIN.—p. 357.



3. LUCAS GASSEL. ST. JEROME. COLL. NIJLAND.—p. 355.



4. HENRY PATINIR (?). COLL. VON BRENKEN.—p. 356.

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the sky above. The painter intended to make an untortured transcript of nature. It was a novel experiment.

According to Van Mander, Mathias Cock, who was elder brother of the better remembered Jerome Cock, and son of the painter, Jan Cock, was an excellent landscape painter.[1] "He was the first to give to subjects of that kind the variety which was wanting to them, by following the Italian or antique style. He showed much imagination in composing his views." The meaning of this praise is not obvious. Guicciardini, an excellent authority, likewise mentions him with honour, so that there can be little doubt of his importance in the line of the landscapists. His brother Jerome is said by Van Mander to have engraved several of his designs, and as we possess signed landscape prints by Jerome they may give us some idea of the style of Mathias. A washed pen-and-ink drawing signed by the elder brother and dated 1527 was in a private collection in The Hague, but is unpublished if still discoverable. There is another landscape drawing in the Berlin Museum signed "Cocq" and dated 1541, which may be his. The excuse for it is an insignificant figure of St. Jerome in the foreground and a camel-caravan in the distance. The view is extensive, but not unnaturally so. It is, in fact, a study from nature looking from an elevation across and along a fertile valley; near at hand is a fine church among trees. It is little enough to go by, and we are not sure that Mathias was the draughtsman, but it is easy to believe that he may have been, and to deduce confirmation of Lampsonius' statement that the sixteenth century had scarcely seen his equal as *paysagiste*.

A still more important Flemish painter of landscapes in the middle of the sixteenth century was old Peter Bruegel, of whom we shall have more to say hereafter. He did not quite shake himself free from the old notion that widest views were the best. Patinir and his followers painted as though they thought the world was flat, and if only you could get high enough and see far enough you might look away to the edge! The curvature of the earth would render their most ambitious efforts impossible unless seen from a high floating balloon. In their case, therefore, such views were purely imaginary and are unconvincing. Old Peter, whose feet

[1] See Friedländer in Berlin *K.F.M. Amtl. Ber.*, April 1915.

were always solidly planted on the earth, did not err to that extent, and sometimes he did not err at all. If his view of Naples port on a gusty day is an invention, his storm at Vienna is a brilliant impression of actual fact, such as Hubert van Eyck in one of his marvellous miniatures had dimly but beautifully foreseen. Bruegel's winter scenes, such as the Hunters in the Snow, are not merely veracious studies from nature, but in that case, at least, noble landscape compositions with every feature rightly placed. The well-swept skating rinks near the village, looked down upon by snowy peaks, suggest a modern Swiss winter-sport centre, but for the happy absence of great hotels. If the Darmstadt picture of the Magpie on the Gibbet is old-fashioned in style and composition and the Lobkowitz "June," except for its figures, reminiscent of Lucas Gassel, the backgrounds in Mr. Johnson's Hireling Shepherd and the Vienna Nest-Robbers are perfect and most original studies of domestic landscapes without exaggeration or emphasis, and each of them in entire harmony with the subject of the picture as a whole. The steep pine-clad hill-side in the foreground of the battle between Jews and Philistines (Vienna) proves how observant an eye and retentive a memory accompanied old Peter on his travels. That he did not rely on his memory alone a few pages of his sketch-books survive to testify, though most of them are wide vistas of the old-fashioned type. They are dated 1552 and 1553. In the sixties we meet with sketches of smaller subjects, such as a church among trees, but best of all is an undated drawing at New York which shows a whole row of cottages just as they stood along a village street, almost as Rembrandt might have drawn them. To all this we shall return in a later chapter.

Hans Bol was likewise a deserving and much-travelled landscape and miniature painter over whom we cannot linger. A drawing by him in the British Museum, identified by Mr. Campbell Dodgson, is of unusual interest because the picture painted from it can be seen at Dresden (No. 826). The sketch is a direct transcript from nature—a view along a canal. The picture follows it closely, with the wise addition of certain features which decidedly better the composition. But for a certain stiff formalism in the trees, modern landscape as conceived in the following century is already here exemplified. It is, however, noteworthy

that Bol still felt the wisdom of introducing into the foreground the figures of Abraham and the Three Angels, so as to provide for his picture a sacred title. In the landscape miniatures which he painted in his later days at Amsterdam he returned to the old tradition and forsook the naturalism he had temporarily adopted.

Lucas van Valkenborch, a contemporary and perhaps for a time a pupil of Bruegel, failed to catch the new spirit which his master so notably expressed. His panoramic landscapes (such as a pair at Frankfurt) are animated by spirited figures, and in his skating scene he approximates to Avercamp. On the other hand, he likewise painted pictures, one, for instance, at Brunswick, with high rocks on one side and a flat landscape on the other, in the old convention with this difference, that the rocks are not structurally impossible and the flat lands make no attempt at extension to infinity. In fact, he follows nature in details but convention in the structure of his composition.

Though in point of date lying well outside the extreme limits of this work, a word must be said about that important landscape painter Gillis III van Coninxloo, who formed a notable link between the old Flemish and the later Dutch schools of landscape. His merit was emphatically proclaimed by Van Mander and his leadership as a landscape artist by Lampsonius, yet he is little remembered. That must be our excuse for devoting a few paragraphs to him. A member of the prolific family of artists chiefly associated with Brussels, he was born in Antwerp in 1544, one of Jan van Coninxloo's sons. After passing through the hands of several masters he went off on his travels into France, but was back in 1570 at Antwerp, where he married and took up his mastership in the local guild. In 1585, after working there for fifteen years, he, like 30,000 more citizens of Antwerp, being Protestantly inclined with others of his family, found it best to quit. He went to Zeeland, then on to Protestant Frankenthal, where relations of his were already settled. He abode there about ten years hard at work. In 1597 he became a citizen of Amsterdam, married a second time, and there died in 1607 in rather poor circumstances, but respected and imitated. His pictures are not easily found; Plietzsch[1] names several and

[1] *Die Frankenthaler Maler*, Leipzig, 1910. See also *Jahrb. Pr. Kss.*, x, pp. 57–71.

Hymans gives a list of sixteen engravings of works by him, to which three more have been added.

In Dresden (No. 857) he is represented by a signed picture, dated 1588, and there are others of his Frankenthal period in the Ambrosiana at Milan and the Galleries at Schwerin and Petrograd. He started working on the old convention, but gradually exchanged it for a new style in which he abandoned the high point of view and far distances, gave up the customary corridors, and ceased to introduce fantastic and impossible rocks. He frequently co-operated with other painters, several times before 1581 with Martin van Cleve, confining himself to landscape and letting others paint the foreground figures. He often worked on a large scale. Van Mander cites a picture by him that was 15 feet wide. The existing canvas at Dresden measures over 6 feet by 4. He it was who introduced the convention: foreground brown, middle distance green, distance blue.

His most important pictures were painted and his most valuable influence exercised during the last ten years of his life, which were spent at Amsterdam. He now chiefly painted forest scenes with hunters. Drawings by him of wood-landscapes are at Amsterdam, Dresden, and Carlsruhe. Two are in the Liechtenstein Collection, dated 1598 and 1604, and others are known. They are more direct impressions of nature than the earlier series. The old conventions are gone. The way is cleared and the route pointed out which successive generations were to follow with increasing experience and understanding. Van Mander says that Gillis first showed how foliage should be painted. These pictures confirm the statement. John Bruegel and Joos de Momper were pupils of his Antwerp days. At Frankenthal he taught Peter Schonbroeck and influenced if he did not teach Hendrik van der Borcht. At Amsterdam David Vinckboons, Hendrik Avercamp, Alexander Keirincks, Esaias van der Velde, and even Hercules Seghers are claimed as his immediate followers. Those were the men who founded the great Dutch school of landscape painting. The important historical position of Gillis van Coninxloo is thus assured. Van Mander, who wrote while Gillis was still living, says, "to declare in a few words what I think of him, I know no better landscape painter in our time, and I attest that his style is beginning to be generally followed."

I can do little more than name such artists as Jacus and Roland Savery and Jacob de Gheyn. The last was an engraver and draughtsman who has left several good landscape drawings. Reproductions of two of them lie before me. One, in the British Museum, is of the old type –high impossible rocks on the left, level water on the right. The other, at Frankfurt, is a sketch from the life on such a beach as Scheveningen's with the unloading of stranded fishing-boats—a completely modern work. Thus the old tradition of what have been called " world-landscapes " was long in dying out. Even in the structure of some of the great creations of Rubens, such as the " Summer " at Windsor or the " Shipwreck of Æneas " at Berlin, elements can be traced of the convention which, if not invented by Patinir, received its first vogue from the success of his landscapes.[1]

[1] Many of the pictures referred to in this chapter (in some cases with different ascriptions) may be found conveniently reproduced in Dr. L. von Baldass' monograph, " Die Niederländische Landschaftsmalerei von Patinir bis Bruegel," in the Vienna *Jahrbuch*, vol. xxxiv, Heft 4, 1918.

CHAPTER XXV

MABUSE

Jean Gossart, generally known in England and France by the name Mabuse, came from Mauberge in Hainault, where members of the family are recorded as far back as the fourteenth century. The year of his birth is unknown. Hulin would place it as early as about 1465. It is generally guessed at about 1470–5, but I think the earlier date the more probable, notwithstanding the reported former existence of a portrait with an inscription according to which he was fifty years old in 1528. Dr. Muller conjectures that he may have been the son of Jacop van Mauberge, an official of the Bishop of Utrecht, living in the castle of Duerstede.[1] In 1503 one " Jennyn van Henegouwe " became a master in the Antwerp painters' guild, and it is practically certain that this was our artist. He is likewise recorded in the same register as having taken pupils in 1505 and 1507. There is no later mention of him at Antwerp, for the good reason that in 1508 he went to Italy in the service of Philip of Burgundy, the fifth of Philip the Good's sixteen recorded bastard children, and that on his return he made his home elsewhere.

We can point with some confidence to three pictures painted by Mabuse before this Italian journey. They are the Adoration of the Magi in the National Gallery, an Agony in the Garden at Berlin, and a portrait of Canon John Carondelet in the L. Hirsch Collection in London. The portrait is, perhaps, the earliest of the three. It may be described as of the Bruges School, and proclaims the artistic parentage of Memling. Indeed, we can point to that master's portrait of a lady (misnamed the Sibylla Sambetha in the Hospital of St. John), which Mabuse must have referred to when painting the Canon, for he has put his hands into exactly the same position as hers. The convention is Memling's throughout,

[1] *Onze Kunst*, 1917, No. 3.

and one is almost tempted to imagine that the sitter pointed to such a portrait as that of a young man now in the Dun Collection, and requested to be painted just like that. Yet here we have no slavish and uninspired imitation, but a likeness full of life, the lips mobile, the countenance lit up, the pose natural and easy. A young artist attaining such success with a first commission from a wealthy patron would not fail of recommendation from him.

Carondelet,[1] who afterwards became Chancellor of Flanders, was himself the son of a Chancellor of Burgundy. He was born in 1469 and was early appointed a Canon of St. Peter's at Anderlecht, near Brussels. In 1485 he became Canon of St. Donatian's at Bruges, and soon annexed various other comfortable pieces of ecclesiastical preferment. He became secretary to Charles V and member of his council at Mechlin in 1503, which must be somewhere about the date of this portrait. In 1527 he was made Provost of St. Donatian's and soon afterward Archbishop of Palermo. He died at Mechlin in 1545. Three times, as we shall see, Mabuse painted his portrait, so that Carondelet proved a steady patron, and the artist may have owed to his introduction the valuable relations he was enabled to form, and in particular that with Philip of Burgundy.

The most important of the three early pictures is the Adoration of the Magi, formerly in the Carlisle Collection and now in the National Gallery. It was probably painted for the Abbey of St. Adrian's at Grammont in East Flanders, but how Mabuse came to get so large a commission thus early is unknown. We can only guess that Carondelet may have procured it for him, and we can easily believe that he again gave satisfaction, for the picture is still one of the best admired altar-pieces of the Early Netherlands School. Its reputation is due to its size, brilliant colouring, decorative quality, and minuteness of detailed finish. Its aspect of elaborate completeness imposes wonder upon the spectator and leads him to suspect that he is in the presence of a very serious work of art. Certainly, for a young artist not much over 25 years of age, it represents a great technical accomplishment. The painter must have come out of a good school and been a gifted man and a hard worker. Internal evidence once more leads us to Bruges, but

[1] See Weale in the *Burlington Mag.*, March 1910, p. 341.

this time to the studio of a living artist, none other than Gerard David, from whom Mabuse may have learnt his craft. In this Adoration of the Magi we find the solid fifteenth-century traditions thoroughly acquired and expressed. There is no trace of Antwerp or of the Renaissance except a little bit of sculptured frieze; otherwise the ruined architecture is such Romanesque as the Van Eycks preferred. It is all quite scholarly—the perspective carefully attended to, splendid stuffs well painted, elaborate late Gothic goldsmith's work, angels of recognizable pedigree—put together with pains, but without poetic imagination. The young artist had not confined his attention to the local school alone; he had studied the best contemporary engravings that came his way, especially Dürer's. I think he took the general notion of his background, with the round arch over it and the landscape seen through, from Dürer's well-known Nativity print of 1504. He certainly borrowed the dog on the right from Dürer's St. Eustace and the other dog from Martin Schongauer, such loans being a custom of the school from which he sprang. His only conspicuous failure in detail is with the badly foreshortened head of St. Joseph, and that is an error repeated in the St. Peter of the Berlin Agony.

The latter picture is yet more obviously of Gerard David's school, and is again an uninspired work of much technical accomplishment produced with infinite pains. The problem which Mabuse here set himself to solve was one of illumination, and if the spiritual tragedy is ignored it is because the artist's whole energies were concentrated on novel technical difficulties. We have already observed earlier painters wrestling with the same problem. Mabuse carried the solution a step further, but without a glimmering of an idea of the imaginative possibilities that may lurk within a mysterious chiaroscuro.

In 1508 we know of a surety that our artist set off for Italy in the suite of Philip of Burgundy. His patron was a brilliant, highly educated, humanistic amateur, who is said to have been excellent company and to have studied the crafts of the painter and the goldsmith. His business in Italy was a diplomatic mission to Pope Julius II. He had held other political and military appointments, but his heart was not in affairs, and as soon as he could he retired from them and gave himself up to cultured society. It is

evident that his purpose was to devote attention in Italy to the works and monuments of antiquity; if he took an artist with him it was as a traveller to-day would take a photographer to make for him as accurate a record as possible of the objects that pleased him. The kind of man he would be likely to inquire for was a good and accurate draughtsman; he could scarcely have found one at Antwerp better equipped than Mabuse.

It is useless to look for pictures painted by our artist in Italy, or to expect to find in his later work evidence of much influence brought to bear upon him by the contemporary Italian artists with whom or whose work he came in contact. We have to give up the tempting ascription to him of the little diptych in the Doria Gallery, showing Messer Antonio Siciliano kneeling to a copy of Van Eyck's Virgin in a Church, which Marcantonio Michiel saw in the Vendramin House in Venice in 1530. Mabuse's working hours in Rome were entirely occupied in drawing those *sacra vetustatis monumenta* which formed his patron's chief interest. Unfortunately only one of the drawings is known to exist, a careful pen-and-ink sketch of the so-called Hermaphrodite (now in Naples Museum), which Friendländer found in the Academy at Venice (phot. Anderson, 15093). Nor was it only these drawings that Philip brought home with him, but two solid sculptures of Julius Cæsar and Hadrian, gifts from Julius II. He was back in Brussels on June 22, 1509, but Mabuse had not finished his work till some months later, when he too returned and joined his patron at Middelburg, where Mabuse's brother, Nicasius Gossart the architect, also resided. He still remained in Philip's service, and that wandering and pretentious but second-rate artist Jacopo de' Barbari was his colleague. Both were employed to paint decorations for their master's château at Suytborg on Walcheren Island, between Flushing and Middelburg, though that was not Mabuse's sole or even principal work, nor was he by any means exclusively, perhaps not even mainly, employed by Philip.

It is customary to attribute to the days immediately following Mabuse's return from Italy the painting of one of his most distinguished works—the elaborate little triptych at Palermo; but I doubt if it was really made before 1511. When we remember that it was already in Sicily as long ago as the early years of the

seventeenth century, and that Carondelet was Archbishop of Palermo, we can hardly fail to conclude that it was for him Mabuse painted it. Perhaps he left it to his Cathedral Church. During his lifetime it may have been the altar-piece of his domestic chapel, and thus accessible in Bruges to privileged artists. That it or a finished drawing of it was thus accessible is proved by the contemporary copies by painters of the Bruges School, working about the year 1520. Isenbrant copied the middle panel twice (Colls. Kaufmann and Ed. de Rothschild), and painted a panel (former Coll. Emden) in imitation of the Fall on the outside of the wings. There are also copies, more or less close, in Lord Northbrook's collection and at Schloss Gnadenthal.

No trace of Italian influence is visible either on the central panel or the wings. The architecture with its superabundance of complicated detail is as far removed from anything ever conceived in Italy as can be. Its traceries and carved foliations are too multitudinous to have been actually carried out even by an Antwerp wood-sculptor of the day, but are just the kind of thing an ingenious draughtsman might have been amused to design who was familiar with such complex wooden canopies as those, for example, which surmount the Antwerp School altar-pieces in the Engelbertus Chapel in Cologne Cathedral and the Church of St. Gereon in the same city. The landscapes are equally Netherlandish, while the figures of the Virgin and Saints are of Gérard David's type. As for the Cherubs, which have been attributed to an Italian parentage, they clearly derive their origin from Dürer, and are only in so far Italian as he was indebted to Italy for the thought of them. The central panel, therefore, and the interior of the wings of this wonderfully executed piece of pictorial elaboration are altogether Northern, and could even have been painted at Antwerp before Mabuse went to Italy.

But when we close the wings and regard the exterior, no such possibility remains. The Adam and Eve with their arms so affectionately interlaced are obviously imitated from the first print (B. 17) in Dürer's small woodcut Passion, and that was not published as a whole till 1511. We cannot escape from this date by guessing that the print in question was issued separately before the publication of the whole series together as a volume. Doubtless

many, perhaps most, of the blocks were designed as early as 1497, and may have been cut on the wood, printed, and sold separately from that time on, but this particular cut cannot have been one of those, for it unquestionably forms a pair both in design and in execution with the next print, the Expulsion from Eden (B. 18), and that is plainly dated 1510, while to confirm this date for the Fall we have only to compare it with an associated drawing of the subject (Albertina, L. 518) by Dürer's own hand, which also bears the date 1510. We are thus compelled to conclude that the outsides of the wings can scarcely have been painted before the publication of Dürer's small woodcut Passion in 1511. It is possible, but highly improbable, that the three inside panels were designed and painted by Mabuse at Antwerp before his visit to Italy, and that the outside picture was added later. But observe what even that hypothesis involves. Mabuse, after spending months over no other work than drawing copies of antique sculptures, mostly nudes, came home and painted these two nude figures, and based them, not on antiques, but on a Nuremberg artist's design. Evidently his studies in Italy produced little or no immediate effect upon his ideal of the human form. If later on, as we shall soon see, a change took place in his art, that change will have been due, not to a spontaneous development within himself, but to the promptings or orders of an employer.

The Palermo triptych attracted the attention of imitators as well as copyists. Architecture of impossibly elaborate complexity, suggested by its canopies, crept into many of the pictures painted by the school of artists named by Friedländer the Antwerp Mannerists of 1520. I am tempted to introduce one such picture to the reader at this point for the sake of the place where I chanced to meet with it, Bolivia to wit. It was afterwards acquired by that intrepid excavator of prehistoric Peruvians, the late Mr. A. F. Bandelier. He carried it away to New York, and later, I believe, to Europe, but where it may now be is unknown. It belonged to the descendants of one of the oldest Bolivian families, and was said to have been taken out by their founder. The picture represents a Virgin standing under a Mabuse canopy with the Child in her arms. He is stretching His hands toward an open book, for which the curly head and delicate hands of a kneeling

angel in rich attire serve as a pulpit. The background is an extensive landscape. In the bottom right-hand corner is a signature added later, "Joh. K. (?) Smits f. 1592." There is also an added owner's coat-of-arms in the middle between the initials A. B. In style the work agrees closely with that characteristic of Friedländer's Group E, and I believe it may actually belong to that group. The picture is about eighteen inches in height, and is in bad condition.

The charming little half-length portrait in the National Gallery of a girl in the character of the Magdalen groups itself with the Palermo triptych for delicacy of treatment. She is not a beauty, but Mabuse could not help that; what he nevertheless accomplished was to make this little likeness of her a thing full of charm, and, while throwing the homely face into full light, to entangle the attention of a spectator in the pretty intricacies of her costume, her characteristic hands, and the piece of plate they hold. The picture may have been painted in the artist's Antwerp period.

With the Palermo triptych we may group a picture in the Prado showing the heads of Christ, the Virgin, and John Baptist, each under an elaborately carved canopy with a beautiful singing angel leaning out through a round opening above. Mabuse in this angel touched the highest point of beauty he ever attained. The fitting of the figure into the space, the forthputting of the wings, the multiple crumpling and decorative modelling of the drapery, and the sentiment of the little person are all delightfully imagined and expressed. Even the impossible architecture is pleasing in paint. The heads of the sacred personages were borrowed in a general way from the Van Eyck Ghent altar-piece. Whether all these pictures were painted before Mabuse left Antwerp or not, they form an inter-related group and are divided from those that come after them. If the Italian visit had coincided with this division, the stages of Mabuse's development would have fallen into nicely sundered chapters, but they obviously did not.

After these pictures were painted, a change occurred in the artist's style. It was doubtless exemplified in the great altar-piece of the Descent from the Cross, which he next took in hand. The picture was so famous in its day that Dürer went out of his way to see it at Middelburg. He found it better in execution than

design, a judgment no one can now control, for after escaping the iconoclasts it was destroyed by a lightning-lit fire in 1568. The picture was large, with double wings, and is said to have taken fifteen years to paint. It was ordered by Maximilian of Burgundy for the Premonstratensian Convent at Middelburg, of which he was Abbot. Another Descent painted about 1520 (they guess), perhaps before the first had been finished, was in the Hermitage at Petrograd, and may be used as some indication of what the picture devoured by the flames was like. Dürer's criticism applies also to it. It is a clever piece of craftsmanship but a distraught composition, theatrical, passionate without true feeling, studied and put together but not beheld. The old formal dignity of the Byzantine and the great Gothic artists is here replaced by a sophisticated realism lacking all genuine emotion. Between such a Descent as, for instance, that emblemized rather than depicted in the superb ivory figures of the thirteenth century in the Louvre and a picture of the same subject by an artist of the type of Tintoretto, there is no satisfactory half-way treatment. Van Mander and his contemporaries did not think so. The Petrograd picture which he saw in the possession of one Magnus at Delft pleased him greatly. He discovered beauty in the figures and draperies and sorrow in the expressions.[1] They fail to awaken a modern response.

It is scarcely to be supposed that Mabuse did not paint a likeness of his patron, Philip, and it is tempting to accept the portrait of a knight of the Golden Fleece in Amsterdam Museum, obviously by Mabuse, and traditionally so named, as giving us the aspect of this cultured personage. But there exists in the Macquoid Collection in London another portrait of the same individual wearing the initials F. E. on a badge in his hat, which has led to the suggestion that he may be another knight of the Golden Fleece, Count Floris of Egmont. As the man painted can scarcely be more than thirty years of age, the picture, if of Floris, must have been painted at latest by 1499, if of Philip by 1494. But the wearing of the Fleece upon a ribbon involves a date not earlier than 1516, so that both Philip and Egmont are excluded.

Friedländer refers to the years about 1510 an attractive portrait

[1] There is a small Descent in the Traumann Collection which Weisz and Winkler give to Mabuse, but Friedländer takes away.

of a young man in the Cook Collection (Richmond), and other portraits at Copenhagen and in the Liphart Collection, the last of which I have never seen. The Copenhagen picture is assuredly later by many years, and the Cook picture appears to me to come after the dated Carondelet of 1517. As a piece of character-painting it shows progress, the pout of the man's lips, the tilt of his nose, and the sidelong glance of his slit-like eyes figuring in strange harmony a thoroughly unpleasant character. His face expresses the sentiment of the New England farmer, "Them as is hogs to me, I'll be hogs to them."

Three portraits, all I believe of about the year 1515, are linked together by the peculiar fashion of the hats worn by the three men. They are the above-mentioned Macquoid portrait, which may be a copy of a Mabuse by a different artist, the portrait of Charles V at Budapest, and a portrait at Copenhagen, called Christian II. The Macquoid knight wears the Fleece on a collar; in the Amsterdam Mabuse he wears it on a ribbon. The latter picture cannot, therefore, be before 1516; the former might be a year earlier. The hats in both are similar. The Macquoid picture may be of 1515. The Charles V appears to me to be exactly of the age of his portrait by Van Orley, whereof there is a copy in the Louvre; it shows a similar hat and is attributed to about 1516. Friedländer would likewise attribute to Orley the Budapest picture, but to me it seems, as far as composition is concerned, a thoroughly characteristic Mabuse. As for the Copenhagen picture, it should be noted that Mabuse's patron, Philip, in the very year 1515 which the date on the panel and the fashion of the hat proclaim, conducted Charles V's sister, Isabella, to her bridegroom, King Christian II of Denmark, and that nothing is less improbable than that he took Mabuse with him, and that Mabuse having painted the King at Copenhagen, perhaps to carry back to Charles, had the opportunity on his return to paint the likeness of the future Emperor. I shall have another word to say about this portrait in the chapter on Van Orley.

An unattractive study at Hampton Court—two rather coarse nudes in the characters of Adam and Eve—dates from Mabuse's Middelburg period. It belonged to Henry VIII, and may have suited his robust taste! It is exceeded in ugliness by a later

version at Berlin and a drawing in the Albertina, and these are not all of their kind, but let them suffice. More interesting is the altar-piece, now at Prague, which belonged to the Guild of the Painters at Mechlin and therefore had to represent St. Luke drawing the likeness of the Virgin. The figures are of minor importance, and are lost in the architecture and its sculptured decorations. Here Mabuse's Italian studies were brought to bear. He designed the finest kind of a corridor he could think of, with plinths and columns and architraves, mouldings and cornices, all in a bastard classical style, and he put sculptured figures about, one being imitated from the antique Boy with a Goose now at Naples, but he could have seen and copied it in the Savelli Collection in Rome when he was there. Curiously enough he filled some of his classical panels with latest Gothic tracery and figures, and introduced more late Gothic in the view through the main archway, while his drapery is as folded and complicated as in any fifteenth-century Flemish picture. The result is an entertaining work, but not a fine one. It may have given a good deal of pleasure in its day, but for all its ingenuity it leaves us cold.

The Neptune and Amphitrite at Berlin, dated 1516, was probably painted to decorate some room in Suytborg. The grouping was suggested by one of Jacopo de' Barbari's engravings, and the figures modified by imitation of Dürer's print of Adam and Eve. The flesh is carefully modelled in grey. The architectural background is again intended to be of classical type. It is the kind of picture that would doubtless have been pleasing to patron Philip. Of similar character is the Hercules and Deianira (of 1517) in the Cook Collection. However unattractive these nudes may be to us, the delicacy with which they are drawn and the carefulness of the soft and elaborate modelling cannot escape recognition. It is the types that are so ugly. It seems incredible that anyone could ever have thought otherwise.

In 1517 that cultured and mature layman, patron Philip, was turned into a Bishop and endowed with the fat see of Utrecht. Thereupon Mabuse's Middelburg days came to an end. Suytborg Castle was abandoned, and the little court moved over to the episcopal residence of Duerstede. Mabuse seems now to have made his home at Utrecht, not that he stayed there all the time, any

more than he had remained immovable at Middelburg. He had, for instance, in 1516 gone somewhere to paint portraits for Charles V of his sister Eleanore of Austria, as recorded payments tell us; perhaps, also, of Charles himself. Another time he helped design a funeral pageant at Brussels. Later, in 1523, Regent Margaret sent for him to Mechlin to restore some of her pictures—a fortnight's job. In 1527 Lucas van Leyden came to visit him (but that was after he had gone back to Middelburg) and gave him a great feast. Then the two set out together on a little tour to see their contemporaries in other centres, and a thoroughly good time they had, travelling on the Dutchman's private barge, and giving banquets wherever they stopped. Van Mander is our authority for the story and for an account of Scorel's experiences. This latter artist, apparently a puritanical person, thought to improve his art by studying a while under Mabuse, so he went to Utrecht and set to work; but Mabuse had a way of taking him to the inns to drink, and it was Scorel who paid; he found the frolics both expensive and dangerous, for there were rows, as whoso knows Dutch paintings of drinking shops in the seventeenth century can well believe. So Scorel said good-bye to Mabuse and went to study elsewhere. Modern critics with the superiority of entire ignorance declare Van Mander's tale untrue, because, say they, Mabuse was evidently a very hard worker and left a comfortable competence to his family when he died. I have known other festive parties of whom the same statements might truthfully be made, but they frolicked none the less. Moreover, in Mabuse's case he left his fellow-revellers to pay the cost of his recorded jollifications, which seems canny at least, and helps to account for his bank-balance. One thing is certain, whether our artist was too festive or not, the hard work claimed for him was done and its results abide. The frolics are long over.

Mabuse's change of residence seems to have brought him again into contact with Carondelet, for whom in this year 1517 he painted the diptych now in the Louvre with a really admirable portrait on one leaf and a Virgin and Child on the other, both wrought to a remarkable degree of finish. Mabuse's half-length Madonnas must have been very popular, for a considerable number survive and many more existed. There was a good one in the Kaufmann

Collection; another belongs to M. Max Wassermann in Paris. No one will expect them to be inspired religious works, but they are decorative and the babies very fat and curly-haired with large dark eyes and lips like ripe cherries. Yet another formed the dexter half of a diptych of which the portrait of a Man with a Rosary in the National Gallery was the other wing. A replica of it or the cut-down original is in the J. G. Johnson Collection, the architecture in the background showing the connexion between the two. Another version of the Madonna is in the Prado with the background changed to make it stand comfortably alone—a variation which seemed unnecessary to Hans Baldung when he copied the original in 1530, as may be seen in the German Museum at Nuremberg. No better example could be cited to show Mabuse's powers and limitations than this pair of panels, the figures on the one being manufactured to a formula, that on the other splendidly seen, comprehended, and expressed. Yet two at least of Mabuse's Madonnas were so cordially admired in their day that they were copied again and again. The original of neither has come down to us. The first, which may be dated to about 1520, makes of the Virgin a richly dressed and finely coiffured lady with a long white veil falling down over the Child's Head. The composition is built up about this undulating band of white and its continuation below. Examples of this type are at Douai, Berlin, Cologne, Brussels, Wörlitz, Schwerin, and a dozen more places. Friedländer says that the date of most of these copies is about 1550 and has an idea who may have painted them—one Paulus van Aalst, son of Peter Coeck.

I will not weary the reader with more than the names of a few of the quasi-classical mythological subjects which in these years came from Mabuse's easel. There is a Venus and Cupid (dated 1520) in the Schloss Collection, the design of the figures borrowed from two engravings by Marcantonio. At Rovigo is another Venus. A copy of a lost Hercules and Antæus, dated 1523, was shown at the Bruges Exhibition of 1902 (No. 225), and one after a lost Mars, Venus, and Cupid at the Golden Fleece Exhibition (No. 222). The latter displays in its clinging drapery the continuing influence of Jacopo de' Barbari. The last I need mention is the Danaë at Munich, which is both signed and dated (1527). All

are terribly boring pictures on which the artist wasted rare abilities and great pains. They were probably painted to the order of ill-advised amateurs who would have done much better to sit to him for their portraits.

In April 1524 Philip of Burgundy died, and Mabuse went back to Middelburg again and entered the service of Adolphus of Burgundy, lord of Veere, son of Philip and grandson of Anthony, another of Philip the Good's bastards. This new patron was a ponderous and severe person, very different from his predecessor. His lady was Anne van Bergen. Mabuse painted her and her boy in the character of the Virgin and Child, and the picture is known to us only by numerous copies. One of the best is at Longford Castle. A good portrait of the mother in her own character belongs to Mrs. Gardner at Boston, and another version to Lord Brownlow. A delightful little picture of her youngest daughter Jacqueline in the National Gallery shows a round-eyed, round-cheeked, round-headed little lass, who from the object she holds in her hand appears to be studying elementary astronomy. The ferocious Christian II of Denmark, when chased away from his kingdom in 1523, took refuge with Adolphus of Burgundy. Mabuse painted the portrait-group of his three children, either now or a year or two later. The original of this picture is at Hampton Court, and copies of it at Longford, Wilton, and Hornby. Why it should have been so much appreciated in England is a mystery. In the case of all four examples the children were called those of Henry VIII, regardless of the fact that their sexes do not fit. The picture is one of Mabuse's most charming works. The eldest child, Hans, is in the middle between Dorothea and the baby Christina, who was to grow up into that Duchess of Milan immortalized in the full-length portrait by Holbein which all the world knows in the National Gallery. The three little people are leaning over a table and are thus visible only from the waist up. They make a great deal of play with their hands, which are prominently thrust forward and painted with singular variety and minuteness. Mabuse also painted another portrait of their royal father, which no longer exists. It has been identified from an engraving made after it by Jacob Bincks. The probability is strong that the mother of these children, Isabella of Austria, Charles V's sister, was likewise



1. MABUSE. CARLSRUHE.—p. 364.



2. ANTWERP SCHOOL. FROM BOLIVIA. p. 367.



3. MABUSE. CHARLES V. BUDAPEST. p. 370.



4. MABUSE (by or after). GORHAMBURY. p. 374.

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portrayed by our artist, and Friedländer thinks he may have seen such a picture at an Italian dealer's. The portrait of her belonging to Count Tarnowski at Dzikow in South Poland, though attributed to Mabuse, is not accepted as a genuine work by him. When she died in 1526 the advice of Mabuse was asked about the design for her monument. The artist's introduction to this queen may have happened as far back as 1515, when, as aforesaid, his patron Philip conducted her as a bride to Denmark, and he may have gone in the royal suite.

About this time Mabuse was greatly interested in hands. He had always drawn them with pleasure. In his early Adoration of the Magi in the National Gallery, the hands throughout are markedly graceful and studied. They have a yet greater prominence in the Madrid Christ between the Virgin and John Baptist. Yet in his early portraits they are quiescent and often conventional. In the very first, as we noted, they are almost copied from Memling. A similar conventionalism lingers on in the Amsterdam so-called Philip of Burgundy of about 1516. Just then Mabuse began to use his sitters' hands as a prominent, characteristic, and expressive feature. The admirable man's portrait in the F. B. Pratt Collection in New York may be cited as a conspicuous case in point. The hands are active and individual. They do not draw attention away from the head. They enforce it and help to make the whole of the visible part of the man expressive of his personality. In early portraits the head alone speaks. Neck and shoulders merely support it, and might be anyone's. Now into pose, gesture, the wearing of clothes, and all else Mabuse infuses the quality and nature of his human subject. The first example of the change is the Budapest Charles V. Was the innovation his own ? Possibly. But Massys was similarly affected about the same time, as we have observed in the portrait of Peter Gillis painted in 1517. The Pratt portrait must have been painted later than that, but the Charles V earlier. Carondelet, Mabuse's constant patron, was a friend and correspondent of Erasmus. It is not impossible that he may have seen the double portrait and even procured sight of it for Mabuse, though that is a hardy guess. Mabuse, at any rate, may thus have heard of it, but such innovations are in the air. They express the movement of ideals in a society. Individual artists, the crowd-exponents,

give to those ideals a visible form. The change in the attitude of men to religion, which caused pictures of sacred subjects at this time to become so unemotional for all their tearing of passion to tatters, was accompanied by a new interest in actual life, an increased individualism, a higher human self-consciousness. Changes in art-forms of necessity followed, and the gesturing hands of Massys, Mabuse, Sotte Cleve, and others proclaim the new age as definitely as do the writings of Erasmus or the tracts of Luther.

Portraits of like significance are the man in a fur cloak in the National Gallery (No. 946) and the parade picture at Berlin, said to depict Charles of Burgundy, another of Philip the Good's left-handed grandchildren. Here was a man with a good opinion of himself, which he expressed in the splendour of his attire and accoutrements. No need to ask him, as Theodore Hook asked the swaggering gentleman in Pall Mall, " Pray, sir, might you be somebody in particular ? " He is not merely dressed in fine clothes ; he *wears* them ; they become in the picture a part of himself. His expression transcends his face and directs the folds of his cloak and the pointing of his finger. These hands, I think, indicate that Mabuse had paid a recent visit to Bruges, where his attention had been arrested by the wonderful hands in John van Eyck's Paele altar-piece. In Mabuse's mood those hands were of overwhelming interest, so that he could never again forget them. Probably this Bruges visit had something to do with Carondelet, that comfortable pluralist who since 1520 had been provost of St. Donatian's. He wanted his portrait painted once more,and Mabuse may have gone to Bruges to paint it. Indeed, just now Carondelet was quite keen on being portrayed. About or before 1525 he sat to Quentin Massys for the fine three-quarter length in the Havemeyer Collection, and he caused Van Orley to make a repetition of it with some changes. The picture supplied by Mabuse, now in the Gutmann Collection at Vienna, is a fine presentment of Palermo's Archbishop just passing out of middle age. It is not, however, as Archbishop but as Provost of St. Donatian's that he here appears—a monumental portrait indeed. Carondelet was a little man, short by nature and now grown stout. We behold him in his white fur-trimmed vestment, square-shouldered, his prayer-book clutched, rather than held, in his hands —hands obviously drawn in reminiscence of those of Canon George

van der Paele, who had died upward of eighty years before. Carondelet's head is silhouetted against a dark background, adorned and framed with a decoratively inscribed moulding which tells with whom we are concerned—a splendidly modelled head, square, solid, intelligent, thoughtful —one of the best Mabuse ever painted. The opposite wing of the diptych (in Tournay Museum) carries a corresponding half-length of St. Donatian, obviously done in rivalry of Van Eyck's, carrying the same crozier and wearing the same jewelled mitre and embroidered vestments, but with another morse. That was also no doubt the actual property of the church—a recent gift, Carondelet's maybe, for it is in the style of the early sixteenth century. This diptych alone would substantiate the high rank of Mabuse among artists of all ages. Anyone who will compare what is visible of the right hand in the bust portrait of a man at Copenhagen with the right hand of Carondelet in the diptych will need no further proof that the pictures are approximately contemporary, and the forceful rendering of character in both is similar.

To turn from these portraits to the contemporary Madonna with a bunch of grapes at Berlin, or that other at Vienna with the sprawling child, or the yet more distressing Madonna with St. Luke which is likewise at Vienna, is an unpleasant shock. For all their executive cleverness they are without artistic existence and need not delay us one moment. Even the Man of Sorrows seated at the foot of a column, which was painted in 1527, and is known to us by a number of copies at Antwerp, Ghent, and elsewhere, leaves us altogether cold. Moreover, from this time forward the powers of the artist began to fail. He was about sixty years of age, had worked hard and played hard, perhaps not wisely ; had, in fact, burnt the candle at both ends. The fire had gone out of him when he painted, about 1530 they guess, the portrait of a man in the Holford Collection, a good enough but uninspired likeness of a stolid personage. The artist's days were nearing their end. We do not know exactly when he died, but he made his will, probably on his deathbed, on June 30, 1533 ; when his name is next mentioned in 1536 he was no longer living.

I have not mentioned by any means all the known pictures by Mabuse, and have omitted many a Madonna and portrait, but cited enough to show what manner of man and artist he was. Weisz's

monograph[1] and Friedländer's list and notes will enable the student to fill out the picture for himself. A few drawings by him are also known[2] and some prints which are named and commented on by Weisz. They add little to our knowledge of the painter.

Mabuse did not form a retinue of followers. His works influenced his contemporaries, notably Bernard van Orley, and some of his pictures were abundantly copied, but such imitations as the Madonna in the Schnitzler (formerly Trotti) Collection, which was shown in the Golden Fleece Exhibition, and another at Berlin are rare. Portraits falsely attributed to him are commoner. Vasari wrote that "Giovanni di Mabuse fu quasi il primo che portasse d'Italia in Fiandra il vero modo di fare storie piene di figure ignude e di poesie," a statement requiring much modification, for his nudes were borrowed rather from contemporary engravings than from study of the antique, and he owed more to Dürer than to the Italians. He may have done something to bring Italian influence to bear upon Northern artists, but not much. That was part of the great Renaissance movement. Changes of form followed changes of ideal, and were not produced by mere copying or imitation of the work of particular artists.

The one man Mabuse may have strongly impressed was Lambert Lombard (born 1506) of Liège, who studied under him at Middelburg. I do not propose to discuss his paintings, many of which and of his drawings, engraved in the sixteenth century, are known from the prints.[3] The pictures attributed to him in catalogues of galleries and sales are usually not his. Thus, one group of Last Suppers is by an anonymous painter now named after them; other pictures are by an artist known as the pseudo-Lombard.

[1] E. Weisz, *Jan Gossart*, Parchim i. M., 1913.

[2] Figure designs in the Albertina and at Frankfurt and a late one for a Pietà at Berlin reproduced in *Jahrb. Pr. Kss.*, 1915, p. 229. In this I can find no connexion with the Hugo van der Goes picture cited in the accompanying text, beyond the distant relationship of a common school. Quite lately Dr. Winkler has also published an important pen-and-ink drawing of the Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine, in the Print Room at Copenhagen, signed on the hem of St. Catherine's dress "Henn in Gosar"; and in this connexion it may be noted that up to 1516 the artist always uses the Flemish form for his Christian name, which he symptomatically afterward discards for "Joannes." See Winkler in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, vol. xlii (1921), pp. 5 sqq.

[3] His work has been ably discussed by Prof. A. Goldschmidt in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, vol. xl (1919), pp. 206 sqq.

Some genuine existing paintings and drawings by him can be pointed out, but they are not eminent works of art. He is here mentioned because he was an interesting and cultured person, more important probably as an architect than as a painter, and as a teacher and talker about art than either. He was archæologist, numismatist, poet, and orator, a kind of sixteenth-century Lord Leighton. He did not await a visit to Italy before studying the antique, but collected objects of Roman art discovered locally, and thus laid the foundations of a knowledge and taste which he enlarged when travelling to Rome in the suite of Cardinal Pole. Van Mander says that he also visited Germany and France. After these wanderings he settled at Liège and opened a school in which many artists studied. The best known were Frans Floris, William Key, Hubert Golzius the antiquary, and Lampsonius, who is better remembered as writer than artist. It was recorded as remarkable that Lambert " could talk about his style, and in the presence of some old pictures could tell at what time they were painted," which faculties are delightful to exercise, but experience shows that so far from being helpful they are often injurious to the creative powers of a true artist. The value of Lambert Lombard's contribution to actual art-production in his own country is difficult to estimate. Northern artists have never been improved by their attempts to imitate the forms or to express the ideals of the south, but they have profited technically by a knowledge of foreign methods and processes. We are not informed about Lambert's routine of teaching. Possibly he did more to quicken the interest and understanding of intelligent amateurs than to develop in artists their powers of expression, but the wise men of his day held him in repute, and after his death at Liège in 1566 he was honourably remembered.

Passing mention may also be made here of the Antwerp painter Lambert Rycx, who, in 1555, became a member of the Guild of St. Luke of his native city and subsequently (1557–9 and again 1566–72, the probable year of his death) worked in Sweden. All the paintings executed by him in that country seem to have perished; but a signed and dated Madonna by him (1548) was discovered a few years ago in London and shows him definitely under the influence of Mabuse.[1]

[1] See on this artist and the picture in question (now in the collection of M. Carl Frisk, Stockholm) Borenius in the *Burlington Magazine*, August 1919, p. 56.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE ANTWERP MANNERISTS

THE name at the head of this chapter is that applied by Friedländer to a very active group of painters at work in Antwerp during the first quarter of the sixteenth century and especially during the second half of that period. The present writer professes no special knowledge of this group, and in what follows makes no pretence at originality. The pictures to be considered possess a decorative quality, but are the reverse of attractive to one whose main affections attach to the work of the fifteenth-century schools and who only descends to the sixteenth in order to study the fading away of the old ideal and of the style that it created. The Antwerp Mannerist pictures used to be vaguely classified together as of the school of Herri met de Bles. They were so called because a prominent painting of the group in the Gallery at Munich bore the signature Henricus Blesius. This signature is now known to have been forged. Bles was a landscape painter of a later generation, of whom we have already disposed. His true name was Henry Patinir; he had nothing whatever to do with any of the works in question.

The ungrateful task of bringing order into the chaos of this chapter of the history of painting in Antwerp was undertaken by Dr. Friedländer. With uncommon opportunities and unrivalled patience he collected his materials through a long series of years. He piled up his list of the pictures as they emerged into the sale-rooms or the magazines of dealers, each in turn to disappear again by the absorption of the market. He classified tentatively, putting two and two together, inventing provisional masters—him of the "flaming beard," and so forth. He enlarged, subdivided, regrouped, redistributed, and finally offered to students a still provisional classification, wherein seventy-five original pictures (with a tail of copies) are divided into five groups, named in non-committal fashion after the first five letters of the alphabet. The paper in

which these results were made available appeared in 1915 in the Annual of the Prussian Museums (pp. 65–91); future research concerning this branch of our subject must be based upon that. It is impossible at the present time to verify many of Friedländer's observations by inspection of originals, and even many photographs of them are inaccessible. How gladly would I have undertaken a short journey to inspect them in their homes when I was at leisure, but in time of war, as they say in India when a lady is not receiving, "the door is shut"! Now the opportunity may have returned, but time is lacking.

Before giving an abstract of Dr. Friedländer's results let us take a good and characteristic example of the type and examine it briefly. A triptych of the Holy Family surrounded by angels in a landscape, with Sts. Catherine and Barbara on the wings, will serve our purpose well. It belonged to the King, now presumably to the Government, of Portugal, and was reproduced by the Arundel Club (1906).[1] The subject is as old as the Flemish School of painting, and its general arrangement was fixed. There is nothing novel about that; it is the treatment that is new. Instead of a dignified and solemn assemblage we have a group in movement. The artist has sought after every kind of variety—variety of pose, of occupation, of accessories, of bright colours. If the angels have wings brilliant as a macaw's it is that they may wave them about and make an attractive pattern of them. Their draperies and ribbons flutter in complicated curls, not in any particular breeze but just jerked about according to the artist's whim. They turn their heads this way and that. Saints and angels have recently passed under the hands of a skilful and inventive hairdresser. Their costumes are of the most costly and in the latest fashion of an extravagant day, with slashings, jewelled trimmings, puffed sleeves, voluminous skirts and trains, and whatever else the contemporary Paquin could invent. Barbara carries a splendid ostrich feather. It almost looks as though she and Catherine had been dressing against one another. The light is fancifully disposed. It comes from no particular source, but is patched about decoratively. The

[1] An indifferent copy of the central group was in the Hoogendijk sale in 1912 (No. 57), and a reversed imitation with many changes in the de Nedouchel sale at Brussels in 1902 (No. 22).

landscapes are charming, so delicately touched, with soft distances and sparkling foliage. Nearer at hand are entertaining buildings with outside staircases and angels walking up and down them. There is a wonderful fountain, imitated from that in the background of Mabuse's Virgin with St. Luke which was set up at Mechlin about 1515, thus approximately indicating the date of the Lisbon triptych. Who the painter was we know not, nor does Friedländer attribute any other work to his hand, but he was about the best of the group, and if the rest had attained as high a decorative level their productions would not have been so wearisome.

The student should not fail to observe that in all these novelties there is no trace of Italian influence. Most people have a vague sort of idea that the change in the forms and ideals of Netherlands artists observable in the early decades of the sixteenth century was due to contact with Italy. That notion is false. Both Massys and Mabuse may have crossed the Alps and modified their technique somewhat in consequence, but they did not change their ideals. The change in them and in their contemporaries followed a change in public taste; not till that change had taken place did artists find it worth their while to introduce into their work definite Italian imitations. The style generated by the Antwerp Mannerists preceded the Italianizing days. It was a purely local product, and would have been followed by other developments leading on to another Rubens and a different Rembrandt if no Netherlands artists had made the Italian pilgrimage. We need not, therefore, quit the Low Countries in search of an answer to the question, How did the style of the Mannerists arise? It is, however, a question to which at the present moment no full or sufficient answer can be made. It would be natural to suppose that some leading artist gave the impulse and that the rest followed him. But no such leader has yet been identified. I think that Mabuse during his residence in Antwerp from 1503 to 1508, before his visit to Italy, may have been an impelling force in this new direction, though it was not exactly that which he himself followed, nor did the definite type of the Mannerists arise till after his departure for the South. Moreover, the reader must bear in mind that throughout the whole period when Mannerism was rampant at Antwerp there were other painters, the great Quentin Massys at the

head of them, who never yielded to it. The conditions, in fact, were something like those in London in our own day, the Mannerists corresponding to the post-impressionists, working in the same city and day as a great artist like Sargent, but within an *enclave* and in a style of their own. The Mannerists were revolutionists. They lived in the midst of a rich and merry society with plenty of money to spend and a new world to spend it in. They were tired of the old courtly dignity, and they painted for the commercial, not a courtly class. What was novel, even if it were extravagant and bizarre, had attractions for them. If in name tied down to the old string of religious subjects, they could treat them in an irreligious and entertaining fashion, and they proceeded to do so. Buyers justified them ; as long as the taste lasted the Mannerists may have reaped a golden harvest.

But the question still remains unanswered, where did the style come from ? If only we possessed a score of pictures known to have been painted in Antwerp between the years 1495 and 1510 the answer would perhaps be easy. But up to 1505 we can point to few with certainty. Hulin now says that the man called the Master of Hoogstraten must have been painting in Antwerp before 1500, and we have a group of pictures by him.[1] A Presentation in the J. G. Johnson Collection (No. 370) stands on about the level of the corresponding wing of the Colibrant triptych above referred to in connexion with Goswin van der Weyden—a work of about 1515–17—but there is nothing manneristic about it. On the other hand, a Madonna in the same collection (No. 371), likewise by the Hoogstraten artist, shows some Manneristic affinities, and so does one of his best works, which is in the Mayer van den Bergh Collection. It looks, then, as if he had been a follower rather than a leader ; nor do his panels in the Antwerp Museum convey a different impression. Another artist, known as the Master of Frankfurt, not first-rate in importance, is thought to have been born before 1470, and to have worked at Antwerp as early as 1500,[2] but he belonged to the rival group who followed Quentin Massys ; the Mannerists owed nothing to him. His nearest connexion with them was his notable copy of the saints on the

[1] *Jahrb. Pr. Kss.*, 1913, p. 73.

[2] See H. Weizsäcker's study of him, *Zeits. f. christl. Kunst*, x (1897), p. 1.

wings of the above-mentioned Lisbon triptych. They are in the Pannwitz Collection at Grunewald near Berlin, and I have not seen them. He must have been influenced by Quentin in the first years of his mastership. There is no certainty that he was a Netherlander by birth; he may quite as well have come from the Lower Rhine, drawn to Antwerp by the eminence of its art-school in Quentin's days. A good many pictures have been identified as his. He was working at Frankfurt about 1504, and he painted the altar-piece now at Munich (Nos. 60–62) after 1511, for the Carthusians of Cologne. It is one of his latest works. The attempt to identify him with the recorded Frankfurt painter, Conrad Fyol, has been abandoned, but like Barthel Bruyn he belongs to the German rather than the Flemish School. In some respects he was akin to and perhaps influenced by Joos van Cleve, who likewise had Rhenish connexions. He copied Jan Joest's Nativity in a picture belonging to the Valenciennes Museum.[1] His best work is the altar-piece of St. Anne (with details imitated from Campin) which is in the Frankfurt Historical Museum. If the speculative attribution to him of the portraits of a bride and bridegroom on a panel in the Auspitz Collection could be upheld we should have to admit that under the combined influences of the Hausbuch Master and Joos van Cleve, he learned in Germany to paint very attractive portraits, but the donors in his altar-pieces possess no such merits. We need not delay over him in this place. He must be discussed at length by writers on German art.

Mention may here be made of another Antwerp artist whose quality is not to be measured by the little we know of him and the small number of his identified works. This is Jan de Cock, father of Mathias Cock, the landscape painter already referred to, and of Jerome Cock,[2] the engraver and publisher of engravings after the designs of his brother Mathias, Jerome Bosch, Peter Bruegel, and many more. We do not know the date of his birth, but he became a master in the Antwerp Guild in 1506, rose to be dean in 1520, and died before 1527. A picture in the Von Bissing Collection at Munich, representing St. Christopher in a landscape of Patinir type, has been recognized as by Jan de Cock from the inscription

[1] French Primitives Exhibition, No. 115, phot. Giraudon.

[2] See Friedländer in Berlin *Amtl. Ber.*, April 1915.

on an engraving after it, " pictum I. Cock." Its date was probably after Patinir's arrival at Antwerp in 1515. Other paintings by the same artist are a Crucifixion triptych (No. 47) and a Circumcision (No. 45), both in Amsterdam Museum, and a landscape with the Hermits Paul and Anthony in the Liechtenstein Collection.[1] The first two are works of traditional character, scarcely if at all Manneristic. The third is an original and delightful picture. The artist has, indeed, taken some inspiration from Dürer's woodcut (B. 107) of the same subject, but he has not indulged in facile imitation. The standing cross with bell attached is his only loan. The two old men are a pathetic pair seated on banks under trees, and gesturing at one another—one, Bosch-like, shrouded in a great hood, the other in his own long hair. The gnarled tree-trunk in the foreground is not more weather-beaten, nor less uncanny the raven who has just tossed a loaf on the ground between them. The artist has felt the decorative value of his trees and rocks, and used their lights and darks wisely in the pattern of his piece. He has painted plants skilfully in the foreground and, with a just sentiment, almost closed out the distance. Yet more reminiscent of Bosch is a woodcut designed by Cock, but wrongly attributed to Bosch himself.[2] The temptation so to name it was strong, for the subject is the temptation of St. Anthony, and the quaint devils peeping over were obviously suggested by the Master from Bois-le-Duc. In none of these works do I find evidence of attachment to the Mannerist group.

The notable triptych, which belonged to Messrs. Durlacher and was referred to above (p. 299), reminds us of the Mannerists in several of its details. The angels overhead with their flapping and curling draperies are Manneristic. St. Joseph might have stepped out of the Brussels Magdalen Altar-piece (Group C). The black king lifting his cloak to display his leg, the feather in the halberdier's cap, the type of the hairy king, and the architectural backgrounds all show a relation to the Mannerists, but as the David connexions point to a date nearer 1515 than 1510 the picture cannot be regarded as a Manneristic innovation. It must be the work of a David pupil shortly after his arrival at Antwerp, and under the

[1] No. 204 in the Düsseldorf Exhibition (1904), and reproduced in the memorial volume.

[2] Reproduced in Lafond's *Bosch*. Marks on the tower appear to be the date, 1520.

influence of a newly made contact with an existing and developed style.

I now propose to deal with the five groups of the Mannerists as framed by Friedländer, but briefly, because the student must refer to the original article and the general reader will not care to devote much attention to the subject. Friedländer's Group A, approximating in style to the Lisbon triptych, consists of five or six pictures, including that Adoration of the Magi at Munich which used to carry the forged signature Henricus Blesius.[1] In these pictures architecture is prominent, and the figures in three of them are on a relatively small scale. They pose and strut a good deal. The painting is delicate and means to look so. The artist is fond of feathers and likes to put two or three curly ones in a cap. He also makes a good deal of play with the calves of men's legs. The hair of the women is so tightly drawn back as to convey an impression of incipient baldness. The hats and headgear of men and women are fantastic. If the New York picture is by the same artist as the others, which I cannot believe, it is more attractive in every sense. The curly head of Francis seems an echo from Mabuse.

Friedländer suggests the possibility that Group A may contain the earlier works of the master to whom the pictures in his Group B are due. These are sixteen in number. He thinks that they may be attributed to the recorded Antwerp painter, Jan de Beer, who was born about 1475. In 1490 he entered on his apprenticeship under Gielis van Everen, a Brussels painter who had settled at Antwerp in 1477 and conducted a busy workshop there till his death in 1512. Jan de Beer became a Master in the guild in 1504. He took pupils, filled offices in the guild, had a son Aert, who was a good glass-painter. He was dead in 1536. The principal pictures belonging to this group in England are a triptych at Longford Castle, a panel painted on both sides in the Cook Collection, and a Virgin with St. Anne in the Northbrook Collection. At Milan is a well-known Magi triptych and a Virgin with St. Luke. Two Prodigal Son roundels are at Basle, a triptych of the Nativity

[1] The others are Prado, Magi, No. 1171 (Anderson, 16,128); Coll. Pourtalès wings (*Burlington Mag.*, March 1908, p. 387); Ghent Mus., Magi; Berlin K.F.M. (630 C.); Beheading of John Baptist; and (doubtful) New York, St. Francis in Church.



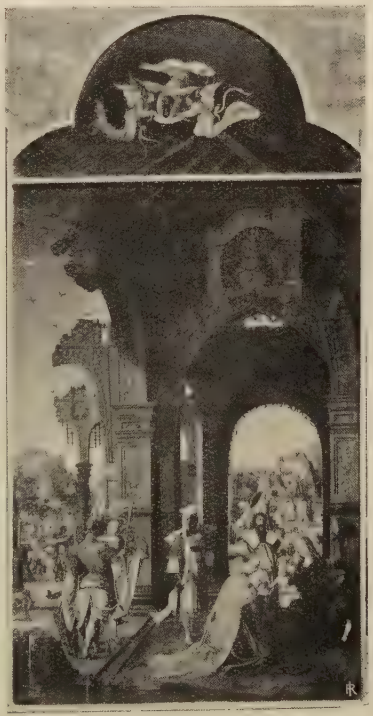
1. ANTWERP SCHOOL. LISBON PALACE. p. 381.



2. THE MASTER OF FRANKFURT.—p. 384.



3. JAN DE COCK. SS. PAUL AND ANTHONY. VIENNA.—p. 385.



4. ANTWERP MANNERIST A. MADRID.—p. 386.

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in Cologne Museum (Coll. Dormagen), and a Crucifixion in the Archbishop's Museum. Berlin has a triptych, the Cluny Museum a Magi, Turin a Pietà, and there was an Annunciation in the Emden sale (No. 88). There is also a signed drawing in the British Museum, dated 1520, which serves as slender link to attach the name of Jan de Beer to the whole group. Other published drawings by the same hand are a Death of St. Anne at Frankfurt, a Marriage of the Virgin in the Albertina, and a Pietà in the Van der Poll Collection at Haarlem. Friedländer names seven more.

This considerable body of work expresses not merely a fashion but a personality, inventive, rather superficial, and with a sense of decorative rather than expressive values. Friedländer lays stress on the Milan triptych, as an example of his exuberant inventiveness, crowded as it is with conceits and overhead a-flap with angels, or rather with draperies containing angels. The Longford picture is less overwhelming but not less decorative. The saints on the wings, disproportionately large for the figures on the middle panel, are reminiscent of Bruges traditions, but coarsely invigorated and naturalized, in marked contrast with the purely fanciful beings who surround the enthroned Virgin. The Annunciation of the Emden Collection is perhaps De Beer's most attractive picture, exuberant with decorative detail. The angel comes hurrying and fluttering down, a marked contrast to the quiet Virgin at her prayers. The event takes place in an interior rich with carved and other architectural detail. An excellent sense of space is given, and we feel the depth and height of the enclosed area and the place of the figures in relation to their surroundings.[1] A similarly just sense of space marks the painting on one side of the large panel in the Cook Collection, depicting the incident of Joseph's rod bursting into flower and the High Priest catching hold of him by the cloak when he was trying to slip away. The narrative interest is predominant, and the story well told, but the artist was almost as much entertained by his own combination of sweeping curves of shoes, swords, feathers, and draperies. On the back is a Nativity of a type descending from Geertgen, with the light proceeding from the Babe. Even the central

[1] There is a copy of this picture at Munich (No. 145), whilst such Annunciations as one in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge may owe something to it.

square manger is a Dutch feature, introduced in the South by Hugo van der Goes, but the hysterical angels are of Antwerp and their day. The Basle roundels of the Prodigal Son, being in the nature of *genre*, owe more to life and less to fancy than the religious pictures. They contain some admirable figures. If the Berlin and Turin Pietàs are by the same hand, they show a failing of power, and it is strange if an artist who designed the well-proportioned architecture of the Emden Annunciation likewise designed the limbs of a building so out of harmony with one another as those of the ruin behind the Cluny Adoration. All these pictures are the product of whimsical invention rather than observation. The artist can seldom have employed models for his figures. He troubled little about the bodies inside the draperies. He was more concerned with pattern than subject, and more entertained by the multiplicity of his fancies than by objects and persons beheld by the eye; but Friedländer is right to recognize in him a distinct artistic personality whose work was not lacking either in originality or in influence upon less mercurial contemporaries. When I look at his pictures and those of his fellow Mannerists I am reminded of the description which an old Dutch whaler gave of a rival. He called him "een Jonck ende outrequidant persoon sich zeer violentelijck comporterende"—an overweening young fellow of violent behaviour. Such in the domain of art were the Antwerp Mannerists and such was Jan de Beer.

The pictures included in Friedländer's C group may be more summarily dismissed. The most popular of them was an Adoration of the Magi frequently copied and imitated. Friedländer recognizes as the original a version in the J. G. Johnson Collection (No. 383). Why so strained and artificial a composition should have been so much liked is difficult to understand. Other treatments of the same subject are in the Groote Collection at Kitsburg, and the Frankfurt, Carlsruhe, Hamburg, and Buckingham Palace Galleries. All lack the vivacity and inventiveness of Jan de Beer. They are merchantable commodities rather than works of art. A couple of Madonnas are more attractive. In both, St. Catherine and another saint sit on the ground on either side of an enthroned Virgin. One, which was in the Dollfus Collection, is imitated from the De Somzée-Hoe triptych named above in

connexion with Goswin; the other, formerly in the Barker Collection and auctioned in Paris in 1877, is modified from the same composition, with vines clambering over the back of the throne and playful cherubs replacing the arabesques in the frieze above.[1] A closely similar cherub frieze is on the face of the mantel of the fireplace in a drawing at Rotterdam signed "Petrus van Aelst." The women are unusually pretty, and their dressmaker had merit. A relatively large Last Supper in the Kaufmann Collection, painted on linen, is a pleasant variety among the monotonous Adorations, and gives an opportunity for elaborate architectural decorative features. The sense of depth is lacking and there is little humanity about the figures, whose gestures are often absurd and the expressions of their faces emphatically meaningless. On the other hand, the painting of decorative features is minute, the furniture carefully studied, the tiled floor elaborately heraldic, and the background full of entertainment. This painter would have been better employed as a house decorator, and that may have been his occupation.

Another Last Supper is among the pictures of the D Group. It is connected with the preceding by the fashion of a chair and the introduction of a dog and bread-basket on the floor in front, but otherwise it is quite different. The figures, less well-drawn, are now crowded together, and the faces are more portrait-like; but this and its fellows are dull works. The artist who painted the Linnich altar-piece and is called after it has been associated with this group.[2]

In his E group Friedländer includes thirty-three pictures beside copies of some of them. He had previously referred to the painter as "the Master of 1518" from his eight painted panels thus dated (some borrowed from Dürer's woodcuts) which form the wings of a carved altar-piece of Antwerp provenance, set up in 1522 in St. Mary's at Lubeck and there still visible. His best-known picture is a triptych at Brussels (No. 560), with the supper at Simon's in the middle and the raising of Lazarus and Assumption

[1] A third version by another hand was No. 219 in the Golden Fleece Exhibition at Bruges in 1907.

[2] Other works attributed to him are Nos. 317 and 546–550 in Cologne Museum, formerly attributed to Patinir, a Temptation at Nuremberg, a Sibyl in Vienna Academy (called Lucas van Leyden), and two panels at Schleissheim.

of the Magdalen on the wings. It used to be attributed to Mabuse, and shows a certain dependence upon him, especially in the elaborate carved staircases and gallery behind. A picture well known to English students is an Adoration of the Magi belonging to Lord Carew. Friedländer has identified it as belonging to an altar-piece other panels of which were a Visitation and Flight in the National Gallery (Nos. 1082 and 1084), and a Christ among the Doctors in the Mayer van den Bergh Collection. There is little Mannerism about these paintings, but rather a visible dependence on the old Bruges tradition, so that we are led to suspect the painter to have been some pupil of Gerard David who settled in Antwerp. The thrusting forth of the knee by one of the kings and his young attendant points to Mannerist tendencies, but in abeyance.[1] The Brussels triptych shows a further departure from Bruges traditions, but rather under the influence of Mabuse than of Jan de Beer. The painter must, in fact, have seen Mabuse's Virgin with St. Luke of 1515, now at Prague, but originally at Mechlin, and taken from it the trick of perching *putti* on his cornices; we thus obtain an approximate date for the triptych. Obviously the architectural flummery entertained him more than the figures, and their drapery more than their faces. The absurd misplacement of Christ's right foot exemplifies his carelessness in the rendering of depth. The picture lacks all sense of space. Friedländer groups with it a "Christ taking leave of the Virgin" at Berlin, but in that the figures are wrought out with far more care and solidity, and they are projected against a meritorious landscape. For all the wringing of hands the picture plentifully lacks sentiment and the action of Christ is almost disdainful. The Neuwied Adoration and that at Dresden (which may be only a copy of a lost original) are examples of his later period, and both are thoroughly impressed with Mannerism—the Virgin seated low, the King's leg protruded, heads bent over to one side, draperies a-flutter, and fussy subordinate figures away off in the background. Friedländer cites half a dozen copies of the Dresden Magi, but states that most of them come, not from the studio of the artist who designed them, but from that of the so-called Master of the Last Suppers. He appears

[1] The Bolivian Madonna (cf. p. 367) may belong to this early period of the painter.



1. ANTWERP MANNERIST B. COLL. EMDEN.
p. 387.



2. ANTWERP MANNERIST C. COLL. KAUFMANN.
p. 389.



3. ANTWERP MANNERIST D. CARLSRUHE.
p. 389.



4. ANTWERP MANNERIST E. COLL. LORD CAREW.—p. 390.

[*To face page* 390.

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to think that the latter took over and carried on the workshop of the former as any other tradesman might succeed to a going concern; such was the level of mere manufacture to which the production of pictures had fallen at Antwerp in that very commercial day.

Peter Coeck of Alost has by some been identified with this Last Supper painter, for reasons which may be good, but have not yet been fully declared. According to Van Mander, this "artistic and learned" person was pupil to Bernard van Orley. He became Master in the Antwerp Guild in 1527, studied in Italy, and was sent to Constantinople by Brussels tapestry-makers to get commissions from the Sultan. He had Peter Bruegel for pupil and posthumous son-in-law. He was author, or rather translator, of books on architecture. In 1550, when in the service of Charles V as painter, he died at Antwerp. His chief work seems to have been the designing of tapestries. Among several pictures recorded as by him, mention is made of a small Last Supper which in 1544 belonged to Peter Lizaert of Antwerp. It has been suggested that this was one of the small Last Suppers whereof several examples exist, dated in every year from 1527 to 1532.[1] Of that composition there is a poor engraving by Goltzius; a print of it in the Dutuit Collection was inscribed in an old handwriting "Pierre van Aelst invenit." The painter of the Last Suppers must have been acquainted with Leonardo's design, which fact by no means suffices to send him to Italy, nor is the visible Italian influence—Ferrarese, perhaps—in details of the work conclusive. It might have been derived at second-hand. The composition is a great improvement upon that of the Kaufmann picture in Group C, but it belongs to the same school, and the types of several of the heads will be recognized as common property among the Mannerists. Here, however, Mannerism has passed by. Its redundancy has been pruned, its types monumentalized, and this has evidently been the result of Italian influence, so that there is a balance of probability in favour of an Italian visit before 1529 by the Master of the Last Suppers, whether he was called Peter Coeck of Alost or by some other name. At one time he was tentatively, but wrongly, identified

[1] The Duke of Rutland's is dated 1527. One that in 1885 belonged to Mr. S. Barlow of New York was dated 1528.

with Lambert Lombard, for no other reason than because that painter is recorded to have executed a large wall-painting of the Last Supper in the north transept of St. Paul's at Liège in 1529. It was a mere guess that the panel pictures might repeat that composition.

No less than twenty-four pictures were attributed by Valentiner to this Master, now called of the Last Suppers, but he did not include the Last Suppers among them.[1] The key picture after which he named the painter was an Adoration of the Magi at Utrecht. It was guessed he might have been a pupil of Van Orley. Friedländer has taken a few items out of the list and put them into his E group, and he particularly points out that the wings of the Utrecht triptych are a more energetic and modern rendering of the figures in the Czernin Triptych by his E painter. A somewhat similar relation holds between the renderings of "Christ taking leave of His Mother," at Glasgow and Berlin, which are by the same two painters, and there are various little technical tricks (such as the method of painting the hair-parting) which unite them. It is, however, beyond the purpose of the present chapters to follow in any detail the work of these second-rate artists. The student who desires to do so must seek guidance elsewhere.

Two Antwerp painters, whose names are fortunately known, likewise belonged to the Mannerist group. They are Adrian van Overbeke and Dirk Vellert. The former, who became master in the Antwerp Guild in 1508, painted an altar-piece five years later for Kempen. It exists, but I have not seen it. The other, Dirk Vellert, who used to be known as Dirk van Star from his signature till Glück revealed his true name, was mainly a designer and maker of glass paintings. As the probable designer of the great set of painted glass windows which are the glory of the chapel at King's College, Cambridge,[2] he is of special interest to English amateurs. The date of his birth is unknown; he became a master in the Antwerp Guild in 1511, the same year as Joos van Cleve. He was dean in 1518 and 1526. Dürer became his friend and they exchanged gifts, red paint from Vellert, woodcuts from

[1] See *Repertorium*, 1905, pp. 254 ff.

[2] See the Vienna *Kss. Jahrbuch*, xxii, pp. 10 ff., and articles by Beets in *Onze Kunst*, 1906–7, and in the *Burlington Magazine*, October 1907, p. 33.

Dürer, and Vellert entertained the Nuremberg artist at a banquet in May 1521. He is mentioned again in 1539–40 as supplying a window to the Cathedral. His last dated work is an engraving inscribed 1544.

Friedländer's sharp eye and quick memory recognized in a triptych which was in the Lippmann Collection a painting by Dirk Vellert. It may be ascribed to his period of varied activity between the years 1520 and 1530. It is our justification for introducing the artist at this point. The picture, in which the figures are very well drawn, belongs decidedly to the Mannerist group and approximates to the E series. The extraordinarily supercilious Virgin is almost comic, and so is the posturing of the King whose back is turned toward us. The facial type of the kneeling King is no less peculiar, but for all that the picture has obvious merit and one of the wings is charming. The thin and fluid paint has been applied by a thoroughly instructed craftsman. If Vellert painted few pictures it was not for lack of skill, but because he had other occupation. We are not ignorant what that was, because he is always spoken of as a glass-painter, and we possess a good number of designs for glass roundels by him and one actual cartoon in the Albertina for a five-light window. The roundel designs are numerous from the year 1523, mostly made in sets for windows of houses. They are excellently composed for their purpose and with obvious ease. They indicate that the Manneristic phase had passed. There are examples at Berlin, Weimar, the Albertina, Frankfurt, and in some private collections. The decorative purpose is evident in all. Glück reproduced one actual glass roundel which is earlier than any of the designs. It is dated 1517, and signed with the artist's name, not with the initial and star which puzzled a previous generation of students. Here we find our artist borrowing figures from Italian engravings, but using them with freedom. It was the very year in which Mabuse was painting Italian imitations. With Vellert the imitating and borrowing phase passed; by 1523 he could design with readiest inventiveness. A roundel in the Chapel of the Holy Blood at Bruges is likewise ascribed to Vellert by Beets.

The drawings give no indication of the intended colouring, and must have been guides for the assistants whose business it was to

outline the full-size cartoons on which the colouring would be shown. As a draughtsman, Vellert is precise, vigorous, and assured. There is no fumbling about his lines, no appearance of hesitation or doubt. He fills the area given to him, balancing his masses and co-ordinating his lines to the spectator's entire satisfaction. The tradition of the Mannerists helped him here, or was it the other way about? Did the popularity of stained glass react upon the panel-painters and make them so eager to fill all their space with figures and decoration?

Vellert's friendship with Dürer may have stimulated in him the wish to try his hand at engraving. The presence of Lucas van Leyden in Antwerp in 1522 and the evidence of the success he and Dürer both had in the disposal of their prints may have decided Vellert to make the experiment. Probably Lucas gave him some technical instruction in the methods of the craft, for his first plates were produced by the same process of mixed etching and engraving which Lucas at that time employed, having himself learnt it from Dürer. Twenty engravings by Vellert are known, the earliest of them dated August 16, 1522. Four others followed, before the end of the year. They are small prints of fanciful subjects, a Child with a Dolphin, Bacchus on a barrel, and such like. Next year Vellert experimented with pure etchings, again small, but he evidently preferred the mixed process and returned to it for such more carefully designed and elaborately finished plates as the Virgin and Child with St. Bernard of 1524[1] and the Virgin with St. Luke of 1526. In the latter year Vellert was for the second time Dean of the Guild of St. Luke, and must have made this engraving for the guild or its members. It is an admirable piece of decoration in black and white, fanciful, and but dimly suggestive of the solid world of actuality or of human emotion in the people portrayed. In the same year he designed a woodcut device also for his guild, and of this an impression has fortunately come down to us. That he made such a device at this time is recorded, and that it was cut on wood and printed on quarter-sheets for the guild. It was this record, coupled with the fact that the woodcut is signed with his initials, "D★V," that enabled Glück to prove the identity of the so-called Dirk van Star with Dirk Vellert.

[1] The central panel of a triptych in the Prado (No. 2202) is copied from this print.

A much larger engraving than any of these represents the Flood and bears the date 1544. It seems a long interval since 1526. Some competent authorities hold that the engraving dates from the twenties and that the plate was touched up and re-dated in the later year. One wonders why no impression of the original state of so large a plate should have survived. It is an elaborate effort filled with figures in energetic action, but lacks the decorative quality of the prints we have been examining; it is, moreover, a distraught composition; the behaviour of the scattered folk is futile and the note of tragedy lacking. In any case it serves to emphasize the fact that after 1526 Vellert practically ceased to publish new engravings. We may assume that his glass-painting filled his time. 1526 is the date of important contracts for the windows at King's. They had, indeed, been ordered (or some of them) in 1516, but only four had been completed. By the new contract six windows were to be delivered within twelve months and twelve within the following four years. A later contract was for two more before May 1528 and other two before May 1531. The names of the contracting glaziers are unfortunately not recorded. Internal evidence points to Dirk Vellert as the most important designer of this great series. From 1526 on for several years he must have had his hands full, and the cessation of his engravings is explained; nor do we find any dated drawings for glass roundels by him during these busy years till 1532.

Vellert doubtless was responsible for many windows in other places which have been destroyed or escaped identification. Beets thinks he has found one in the church of St. Gervais in Paris and the design for it in the British Museum.[1] Whether this ascription be accepted or not, our artist may be content to rest his fame on the great and miraculously preserved Cambridge series, so rich and splendid in decorative effect. What they represent can still be discovered by whoso cares to examine them in detail. Those of us to whom they were familiar through the long years of our youth will probably be the first to admit that we were little conscious of their subjects but did not fail to revel in their splendour. I suspect it was the splendour far more than the subjects that

[1] *Revue de l'Art*, xxi, pp. 393–6.

employed the imagination of their creator. What he aimed at he attained, and that was well worth while. If it was necessary for the school to pass through the stage of Mannerism to reach this new glory, who shall decry the Mannerists or call down opprobrium on their accomplishment ? Mannerism was a passing phase. It may have been a necessary one.

CHAPTER XXVII

JAN JOEST, BARTHEL BRUYN, AND THE VAN CLEVES

Though only four pictures by Jan Joest are known, he is an important link in the history of Netherlands painting. Fortunately, two of these pictures consist of many panels and give an extended idea of the artist's style and capacity. They are:—

Twenty panels of the wings of the high altar-piece in the church of St. Nicholas at Calcar.

An altar-piece of eight panels in the Cathedral of Palencia.

A Pietà at Sigmaringen.

A Nativity in the Von Bissing Collection.

Beside these there was a Nativity in the Kaufmann Collection, now thought to be a copy after a lost original by Jan Joest.

The first occurrence of this artist's name is in a list of soldiers at Calcar in 1480. We do not hear of him again till the years 1505 to 1508, when he was painting the Calcar wings. In 1505 we are told that Juan de Fonseca in Brussels ordered the Palencia picture. We next come across the painter at Haarlem, where he bought a house in 1510. In 1515 he was working for the church of St. Bavon there, and he was buried in it in 1519.

Though nothing is recorded about Jan Joest's master, it is fairly obvious that he received his education in Holland. The Kaufmann Nativity depends on Geertgen's picture, the angels in front being directly imitated in the one from the other. The square manger in the middle and the bright illumination proceeding from the Child are likewise the same in both. In the Pietà at Palencia Geertgen's white cloth is used. Such correspondencies, however, do not suffice to indicate so close a relation as that between master and pupil. In the Christ among the Doctors, another of the Palencia panels, a nearer connexion is observable with the

interesting Holy Family at Dresden by the Dutch Master who also painted the Virgins with St. Anne. The interiors in both are illuminated truthfully by the light entering at the windows, and the window-sills in both are sloped downward in the same fashion and with reference to the lighting. Correct illumination of figures by window-light is so rare in pictures of our school and period that this resemblance is important. The Dresden picture is some twenty years older than that at Palencia and might have been painted by Jan Joest's master.

Jan Joest's pictures are not in themselves inspiring. The subjects are the old-fashioned round, and the treatment is conventional. They are all very much on a level, and one feels that the painter could have gone on turning out pictures of this class and quality in any required number. He knew his craft and might be a good teacher, but he supplied by help of a formula the lack of an original creative gift. His best picture is the central panel at Palencia with its two dignified and impressive figures. In the others the heads of sacred personages are emptily conventional, while those of onlookers are often so full of life and character that we may justly assign to Jan Joest the qualification of a good portrait-painter. Some of his heads are decidedly Dutch in treatment. One day perhaps portraits by him may be identified.[1] He owned the gift of narration, which is best expressed where he was most free. Thus the Christ among the Doctors at Calcar and the Woman at the Well are interesting compositions and the puzzled theologians not devoid of humour. His figures are generally well balanced on their feet, and the quieter the pose the better the drawing. In gesture they lack vitality. Friedländer speaks highly of the small Nativity in the Von Bissing Collection, which I have not seen, but he appears to me to overrate the Pietà at Sigmaringen, which he reproduces in his book. Another Nativity in the J. G. Johnson Collection (No. 350) doubtfully attributed to Jan Joest by Valentiner is rejected by Friedländer.

Two important artists are recognized as proceeding from Jan Joest: Barthel Bruyn and Joos van Cleve. The former was born in 1493, perhaps at Haarlem. The painter Bruyn, who

[1] A pair of good portraits at Nuremberg were at one time ascribed to him by Friedländer, but he seems to have changed his mind about them.

in 1490 was working there for St. Bavon's Church, may have been his father. He probably learnt his craft in Haarlem. We need deal with him but briefly because he is principally known for his work on the Rhine, especially at Cologne, where he appears to have settled, in or shortly before 1515, and where he died in honour and prosperity between 1553 and 1557. He was some eight or ten years younger than Joos van Cleve, but it is more convenient to deal with him first in this place. A Nativity formerly in the Kaufmann Collection, dated 1516, fixes his early dependence on Jan Joest. As the latter's picture of the same subject was for many years with it in the same collection, their relation was long ago realized. Bruyn had to widen the composition, to its disadvantage, in order to introduce portraits of the donors. The likeness of the man—one Peter de Clapis, Professor at the University of Cologne—looks for all the world as though it had been painted by Mostaert. The Virgin's hands are the hands of the Kaufmann Jan Joest, but her head comes much closer to that by the same painter in the Nativity at Calcar. Even in the picture of the same subject at Essen, painted six to eight years later, the memory of his master's composition survives. Another early work painted by Bruyn under Jan Joest's influence is a Coronation of the Virgin triptych in the Hax Collection at Cologne. The portraits on the wings are disproportionately large in relation to the figures on the central panel, and no doubt he found them more interesting, for he was a portrait-painter at heart, as were most of the good artists of that day. The donor is the same Peter de Clapis as above, but the resemblance in treatment to Mostaert's is not here observable. The date of the picture is 1515, and it is the earliest production of Bruyn's Cologne period.

Similarities between the works of Bruyn and Joos van Cleve are also numerous, so numerous, in fact, that the latter used to be called Bruyn's master. Their relative ages do not make that relation impossible, but it is regarded as more likely that while one was the assistant the other was the pupil of Jan Joest. Bruyn openly borrowed figures and groups from Van Cleve. Thus the Moor King in the Essen Magi is taken bodily from Van Cleve's small Dresden Magi, but both are tributary to an earlier composition exemplified by the important Bruges–Antwerp triptych which belonged to Messrs. Durlacher, and to which we have referred

in Chapter XXI (p. 299). The relation between the two artists is plainly expressed in Bruyn's St. Victor altar-piece of 1529 at Cologne, where he has introduced their portraits side by side, with Joos laying a patronizing hand on the painter's shoulder. It was at Cologne and in Bruyn's early maturity that Joos' influence was strongest—a fact important for the life-story of the latter, as it implies either a lengthy residence by him in the Rhenish city or frequent visits to it. Bruyn remained under the influence of Joos van Cleve till Scorel returned from Italy, when he transferred his allegiance to the new leader.

The Weber Collection contained a picture by Bruyn of the Virgin with St. Anne, a donor, and a Saint, which not only approximates to Joos van Cleve but links on to the designs of the Master of Frankfurt. That painter, as aforesaid, made another close imitation of Jan Joest's Nativity in a picture now belonging to the Museum of Valenciennes. We know nothing about his education, but as he was at work in Antwerp about 1500, when Bruyn was only 7 years old, and before anything is known about Jan Joest, it is a little difficult to know what conclusion we should draw from this coincidence.

At Cologne Bruyn painted many portraits in a definite style of his own. It would be interesting to discover for how much of it he was indebted to Jan Joest, but materials for the comparison are not forthcoming. The resemblance of one early portrait to the work of Mostaert, who was almost twenty years his senior, suggests that he may also have stood in some kind of pupil relation to him. The remainder of Bruyn's career belongs to the history of German rather than of Netherlands painting and need not be discussed here.

Joos van Cleve, whom it is now customary to accept as the painter of the many pictures which used to be grouped together under the name of "the Master of the Death of Mary," is first mentioned in 1511, when he was registered as a master-painter in the books of the Antwerp Guild. There are, however, a pair of wings by him in the Louvre, dated 1507, so that he was a master-painter in some other centre before then, unless he painted them in the service of Jan Joest, who sold them as his own. We may conclude that the year of his birth was perhaps nearer 1480 than

1485. His full name was Joos van der Beke van Cleve the Elder, to distinguish him from his son, commonly known as Sotte Cleve, whose Christian name, however, was not Joos but Cornelis. He is mentioned several times in the Antwerp books, but between intervals long enough to permit of absences abroad. We have observed above that he must have spent a good deal of time at Cologne, for which city he executed many commissions. He also worked in Italy, in England, and in France. He died at Antwerp in 1540.

Those Adam and Eve wings in the Louvre, dated 1507, are ascribed to him with assurance by Hulin, with less confidence by Friedländer. The figure types recur in his known works, as for instance, in the SS. George and Christina in the Cologne altar-piece of 1515. Joos' dependence upon Jan Joest for his teaching does not rest alone upon these wings, but is declared by the general character of his work. Another early picture, likewise in the Louvre, is the half-length Virgin and Child with St. Bernard, a simple and attractive work in which we can see some of the elements of the well-marked style he presently developed. The diamond-shaped Virgin and Child, sold in an Amsterdam auction (April 30, 1907) and later in the hands of Messrs. Durlacher, likewise dates from the early years of his career.

A portrait of Maximilian, dated 1510, is in the André Collection.[1] It may have been painted at Bruges, but at any rate in Flanders. At this time our artist was paying attention to the work of his great predecessors. The half-length Madonna at Spiridon's was copied from the Lucca Madonna by John van Eyck, which is now at Frankfurt, and there exists in America another version with St. Joseph added. On a ledge or table in front are a bowl of fruit, a knife, a lily in a glass, and so forth—a kind of accessories first, I believe, introduced on a foreground ledge in the Bruges School.[2]

A little later, but still early, comes the half-length Virgin

[1] Apparently the same picture, when in the Haro Collection, was in the French Primitive Exhibition (1904), No. 121. There is another version at Vienna and many repetitions exist. See the Vienna *Kss. Jahrbuch*, 1915, for a learned article on the portraits of Maximilian.

[2] An early example of a flower thus placed is by the Ursula Master; fruit lies on a ledge in the anonymous Bruges Madonna of about 1500 in the André Collection.

giving drink to the Child out of a glass. It was in the R. Kann Collection (No. 98). The cushion resembles that in the Louvre Madonna, and the landscape is of similar character in both pictures. It is a landscape of typically fifteenth century Bruges style. Slightly later is a very interesting Madonna, a seated three-quarter length, belonging to Madame Nielson in Paris.[1] It is linked to the Spiridon picture by almost the same foreground accessories, but the landscape is of the later wide-extended sort with the impossible rocks, and might be cited to indicate that the picture was painted in Antwerp. It offers, however, indications of the influence of Brussels. This type of Virgin with the Sleeping Child, often repeated by the Brussels Magdalen Master, was borrowed from Roger van der Weyden, as stated in a former chapter. The Virgin's head in the Nielson picture bears a close resemblance to that in Roger's Louvre drawing (photo. Giraudon, 428); it must, in any case, be copied from some Roger, for the type does not recur in the work of Joos and does not resemble that to which he gave currency. His hand is recognizable in the execution, the delicate flesh colouring, the careful modelling, and his temperament is expressed in the rather sugar-sweet sentiment of the group. A similar Virgin and Child are on one panel of a diptych in the L. de Liedekerke Collection.[2] The other panel bears a portrait of the Carthusian general, William Bibaut of Thielt. A half-length Madonna in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge[3] follows the ordinary lines of the composition so far as the position of the figures is concerned. The artist had the unhappy idea to make the Mother smile with delight, and the nearest he could come to that expression was a broad and ugly grin, but the picture is famously painted and remains in excellent preservation. A school repetition in the collection of Don Pablo Bosch omits the grin and replaces the white headdress by one of those transparent veils so often introduced by our artist.

A franker imitation of Roger is in the J. G. Johnson Collection (No. 373)—a copy of his Descent from the Cross with only the landscape added, and that in the style, not of Antwerp, but of

[1] It was No. 6 in the Odiot sale (1889).
[2] See photo in *Revue de l'Art chrét.*, 1913, p. 376.
[3] A copy in the Trotti Collection, Paris.

Gerard David. Another and earlier picture of the same subject by our artist shows imitation of Campin's design. It is in the Dresden Gallery—" the work of a beginner," Friedländer calls it. The same writer publishes as a product of Joos' early days the portrait of a lady in the Mayer van den Bergh Collection. The face is so delicately modelled as to seem rather flat and the eyes are incorrectly drawn, but it is a pleasing picture, all the same.

Joos van Cleve also laid Gerard David under contribution, as may be seen in an elaborate Annunciation now in the Porgès Collection in Paris. The general design is borrowed from Jan Joest's Calcar panel, but the figure of Gabriel owes much to David's in the Sigmaringen Annunciation of about 1510.[1]

In 1511 Joos van Cleve purchased mastership in the Antwerp Guild, and that city became his home for the rest of his days, though he left it from time to time to work elsewhere. He now came in contact with Quentin Massys and was a good deal influenced by him. The Louvre contains a half-length of Christ blessing, actually copied from the same Massys design as that also multiplied by the Master of the Mansi Magdalen. Various replicas of it exist. A corresponding devotional half-length of the Virgin appears in various collections.[2] A Crucifixion triptych in the Blumenthal Collection in New York (from the Thiem Collection) shows Joos imitating the Liechtenstein picture by Quentin or perhaps that larger altar-piece in Antwerp Cathedral which the Calvinistic rioters destroyed. The landscape is in the style of the same master. The Crucifixion triptych at Naples is similarly tributary to Quentin, and possesses the additional charm of some excellent children's portraits with those of their parents on the wings. Both triptychs belong to the early period of the artist.

At about this point we may best introduce such pictures as

[1] The type of the Virgin kneeling in one direction and turning round toward the angel approaching her from behind was never popular at Antwerp, and only of late introduction at Bruges. It is rather a North French and German type. It is found in a drawing of about 1420 in the British Museum (Vasari Soc., iii, 13); in other drawings at Berlin (*c.* 1490) and Coll. Duval, in a picture of about 1475, which Weale would ascribe to John Hennequart (*Burlington Mag.*, August 1910), in a picture of *c.* 1500 in the Chapel Royal at Granada, and in a well-known Maître de Moulins. It appears at Bruges on the outsides of the wings of the problematical Durlacher picture previously discussed. How the type reached Jan Joest is a problem. See also *Revue de l'Art chrét.*, 1912, p. 439.

[2] A good original in the Palazzo Spinola at Genoa.

the Virgin and Child with St. Anne which is at Modena. The grapes, the glass, and the open manuscript with full-page miniature which occur in Madame Nielson's picture are here again to be seen, but the landscape is more developed and reminds us of Patinir, who settled at Antwerp in 1515. From this time on, landscapes of Patinir type are frequent in Joos van Cleve's pictures, and some, if not all, of them may have been painted by Patinir himself. The figures in the Modena picture recall the compositions of the Master of Frankfurt. The landscape in the Brussels (No. 349) Rest by the Way must surely be by Patinir ; the figures, borrowed from Robert Campin, are obviously by Joos. Van Mander knew of a picture in which the two thus co-operated. Bits of the same landscape reversed appear on the Ince Hall Madonna.

If it were correct to date the smaller Dresden Magi before 1515, Joos would be proved to have undergone a rather bad attack of Mannerism a few years after his settlement at Antwerp ; but the date is mainly assigned in accordance with the apparent age of the painter, who has introduced into the background his own portrait, hand in breast ; the face, however, is poorly characterized and not very good authority. I am inclined to put this picture two or three years after rather than before 1515, for the following among other reasons. It includes a model, an old man, who appears also in the two Hackeney triptychs and in another at Vienna. Judging from his head, I should place the Dresden picture third and the Vienna triptych last, grouping them all between the years 1515 and 1520. The dependence of this picture on the Durlacher triptych, above pointed out, makes a date before 1515 improbable. Of the two well-known Hackeney triptychs depicting the Death of the Virgin, from which the painter derived his designation before his name was discovered, the smaller (now in Cologne Museum) is dated 1515, and the larger (at Munich) must have been painted soon after it. The smaller was made for the family house-chapel of the Hackeneys in Cologne, the larger for the church of Sancta Maria auf dem Capitol. The commission for the first can scarcely have been given later than 1514 ; the second may have been delivered about 1518–20. The main subject is differently treated on the two central panels, and it is curious that resemblances to Jan Joest's corresponding Calcar panel

are stronger in the later picture than in the earlier. Joos van Cleve evidently found no difficulty in designing compositions of many figures and could tell the same story, if required, in many different ways. Neither picture is pleasing. Both are infected with Mannerism. The Apostles pose and strain as if they had a business on hand involving muscular effort. They are all in rather a noisy bustle, and the last scene their behaviour suggests is the bedside of a dying and beloved old lady. The wings are a good deal better and the women on them possess charm, which, when the ugliness of their menfolk is considered, they may largely owe to the pencil of Joos. The landscapes in the smaller picture are of old-fashioned type. Those behind the larger are advanced, so that we may put the date of the Patiniresque change in the painter's style of landscape to about the year 1516. The wings of the second picture also show progress in the portrayal of female beauty. One of the saints is pleasing and dressed in good taste.

We are now brought face to face with a group of pictures of strongly Manneristic character which we may ascribe to about the seven years around 1520. It is useless to examine more than a few examples. The series opens with the small Dresden Magi, a fussy, overfilled work on which Joos must have bestowed a monstrous deal of pains. The Virgin's face is not yet of his mature type. The Naples Magi comes later. There is no room for more than one king on the central panel, so the other two have to find place on the wings. One of them has a greyhound with the arms of the lords of Cleves on his collar, showing for whom it was painted, and that Joos was esteemed in the place where he was probably born, or from which his family came.[1] A Magi triptych in the Ruffo de Bonneval sale (No. 8) likewise has a king on each wing and presents other resemblances to the Naples picture. Friedländer includes it in his Mannerist group E (No. 62). There is obviously some connexion between the two, and both are impregnated with the same decadent spirit. I am not sure that Joos was not the borrower. In the larger Dresden Magi it looks

[1] The deduction which Friedländer makes from the reappearance of these arms on the copy in the Emden sale in 1910 (No. 85) seems to me unwarranted. The copyist simply copied the arms as he copied the feather in the blackamoor's hat. Moreover, the copy may have been made for the owner.

as though the Manneristic phase was being worked off, but the picture is far too crowded with fussy details. Most disagreeable of all is the Pietà at Frankfurt (No. 93), though it is soberer in design. Such subjects were unsuited to the capacities of our artist, who was a kind of belated Memling, happy only when dealing with sweet and quiet people. Of this last picture we know the date, 1524, and that it was set up in Sancta Maria in Lyskirchen in Cologne by the Senator Johann Schmitgen.

The years 1519 and 1520 were eventful for Joos van Cleve. In them he was appointed dean of his guild, hired a house, married a wife, and was by her presented with a son whom they named Cornelis and who was destined to future success as a painter. We shall deal with his career in the next chapter. It was unusual for a master-craftsman to remain a bachelor so long. Perhaps he did not settle down because of commissions involving long absences from Antwerp—to Cologne, for example, where he surely must have spent rather a long time, going perhaps with Barthel Bruyn when he settled there about 1515. As to a possible journey to Italy before his marriage, there is no sign of one discoverable in his pictures till towards the end of his career.

In 1520–1, as the reader will remember, Dürer spent many months at Antwerp and was in close relation with artists there. He makes no identifiable mention of Joos van Cleve, though they can scarcely have failed to meet. When on August 5, 1520, the Antwerp Painters' Guild gave Dürer a banquet, Joos, as Dean of the Guild, may be imagined in the chair. At any rate he gave the great man that sincerest flattery which consisted in copying one of his pictures, the St. Jerome in his Cell (at Lisbon), painted by Dürer at Antwerp. Several repetitions of it issued from the workshop of Joos. It will suffice to mention as a good example one in the Cels Collection at Brussels.

The pictures on which the repute of Joos chiefly rests are his Madonnas, such as those at Ince Hall and Vienna. The Virgin's type is well defined, and is that of the Virgins in the Naples and larger Dresden Adorations. It does not appear before 1515. We are driven to conclude that these Madonnas were painted during the very years in which he was likewise producing the unattractive Mannerist works just discussed. Did he vary his style to suit



1. DIRK VELLERT. COLL. LIPPMANN.—p. 393.



2. JAN JOEST. ST. NICHOLAS', CALCAR. p. 398.



3. BARTHEL BRUYN. COLL. KAUFMANN.—p. 399.



4. JOOS VAN CLEVE. INCE HALL.—p. 407.

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his customers ? The Ince Hall picture may be chosen as representative. Friedländer observes that one of the angels is borrowed from the Morrison triptych. That seems to indicate a fairly early date. The Virgin's head is delicately modelled, in fact so are all the heads, with pretty complexions, sweet expressions, and no little animation. There is a good deal to remind us of Mabuse. Joos must have been familiar with his work and found it sympathetic. He again introduces the bunch of grapes, the nice glass cup and cover, the sharp-pointed knife, and the inevitable half-orange and cherries. He has also sought out a carpet of novel design, and endowed his picture with every attraction he could think of, yet without any of that overcrowding and over-gesturing which makes the works of the Mannerists disagreeable. Evidently his Madonnas were popular and there was a demand for them ; hence the numerous still existing repetitions of one or two types. Such was the Holy Family, best represented by the example in the Holford Collection. The Child is lying forward in His Mother's arms, and playing with the string of crystals round His shoulders. In the National Gallery version and many other replicas the Child stands up and embraces the Virgin's bosom, while in a version in the Blumenthal Collection in New York He is being nursed in her lap. These pictures are not great, but they are pleasing works of art, sweet in domestic sentiment, though devoid of religious emotion.

A large altar-piece in the Louvre, with a Mourning over the Dead Christ in the chief panel, a St. Francis in the lunette, and a Last Supper imitated from Leonardo's in the Predella, came out of the church of Santa Maria della Pace at Genoa, and may be held as evidence of a visit by Joos van Cleve to Italy. Three other pictures by him were likewise in the same city, and may have been painted for Genoese patrons ; they are the Crucifixion now in the Blumenthal Collection, the Magi still at St. Donato's, and the larger Dresden Magi. Certainly the easiest explanation is to presume that the painter resided for a time on the shores of the Mediterranean. Yet he need not have gone even as far as Milan to fall within the area of Leonardo's influence. That was rampant in the France of his days, and we have good evidence of Joos' activity as a portrait-painter at the Court of Francis I. Guicciardini

relates that when that king sent to the Netherlands for a good portrait-painter, Joos van Cleve was chosen "among others"—the reference is, perhaps, a vague one to John Clouet and Corneille de Lyon—and that he went to France and painted the portraits of the King, the Queen, and various princes. Friedländer assigns to Joos the originals of two groups of portraits of Francis I and Eleonore of Austria. Good examples of both are at Hampton Court. In the same gallery is likewise a portrait of Henry VIII assigned to about 1525, while the French pictures are placed about 1530. I should like to approximate the years a little more closely. In any case, visits by our artist to both England and France are implied.

Was Joos van Cleve led by what he heard and saw of the work of Leonardo in France to make a journey to Italy? Or was he summoned to Genoa to fulfil some profitable orders? The latter seems a more probable alternative. In any case, it was the art of Leonardo that he studied, drawn to it, no doubt, by his own predilection for delicate modelling. The Louvre picture with its semicircular lunette, and its predella is divided after an Italian, not a Flemish fashion. It is interesting to observe how Joos translated into Northern types the heads of Leonardo's Apostles. The server at the end of the table, a man apparently between forty and fifty years of age, stout and hearty but rather ill-tempered of aspect, is supposed to be a portrait of the painter, but is a man of entirely different type. The Mourning is not one of his best compositions. It is emotionless and some of the gestures are comic. The landscape could not be mistaken for Patinir's, but is reminiscent of him. The colouring is rather different from that of the painter's middle period, and may mark a change brought about in Italy. It is characteristic of his last decade.

Popular pictures of the Children—Christ and John Baptist—embracing one another were copied from a well-known Leonardo design. The best example is at Naples. Flemish repetitions are not uncommon, and there are others by Luini, Marco d'Oggiono, and some more Italians. Evidently the picture was a favourite with Netherlands painters, for they often imitated one or other of the children in their works, and there exists a group of Madonnas of the school of Van Orley, in which the Child has been lifted out

of this picture and vaguely placed against His mother's bosom, but sprawling in the air and with no other baby to kiss.[1]

M. Salomon Reinach cites a version of the Holford type of Holy Family above-mentioned in which the Child is in the same posture as in Leonardo's Bénois Madonna. The picture in question is or was in the Schouwaloff Gallery at Petrograd.[2] Another imitation of the same Madonna attributed to a follower of Joos van Cleve is in the Magdeburg Gallery. We are led back to another Leonardo design by the various Netherlandish and Italian repetitions of it exhibited under the name of the Virgin with the Cherries. Several came out of the workshop of Joos, and he may have been the artist who gave vogue to it in the Netherlands. The contorted position of the Child was too much for the draughtsmanship of some of the copyists. Perhaps the best example belongs to Mr. E. G. Spencer-Churchill. A photograph of it was published by the Arundel Club. Flemish imitations are forthcoming of another Leonardesque Madonna in which the Child sits upon her lap, facing her, and rests His head against her bosom. A good example is in the Liverpool Gallery, and another was in the Grimaldi sale (Genoa, 1899), but neither of these pictures came from the workshop of Joos. The Liverpool picture is perhaps the best of all the Flemish-Lombard imitations.

As examples of Joos van Cleve's latest period, I will name only two pictures : the Crucifixion at Boston (from the Weber Collection) and the St. John at Patmos recently sold by Messrs. Colnaghi and Obach.[3] In both it seems to me that the landscape has been painted in by a new hand. That of Patmos is certainly not independent of Patinir's setting for the Martyrdom of St. Catherine at Vienna, and it is to be noted that the whole composition shows knowledge of Bosch's St. John at Berlin. The nearest approximation I can find to these landscapes is in the work of Lucas Gassel, but opportunity fails me to pursue this suggestion. There is an evident resemblance in the jutting rocks with vegetation

[1] One was in a sale at Lepke's, Berlin, November 21, 1905 (No. 100), wrongly attributed to Mabuse. Others in the Peltzer sale (1914), No. 16 ; in the German Museum at Nuremberg ; and in the Hölscher-Stumpf Collection at Berlin. See *Monatshefte f. K.*, 1908, p. 625.

[2] See *Collections privées Russes*, opposite p. 60.

[3] To whom I am indebted for an excellent photograph of it.

growing out of them, in the treatment of trees, and particularly in the way buildings and tiny human figures are introduced into the distance in these two landscapes, and in one attributed to Gassel which is in the Nijland Collection at Dordrecht. If this suggestion is generally accepted—and I think it may be—the probability that Joachim de Patinir performed a like office for Joos will be increased, and we shall be able to date between 1515 and 1524—the years of Patinir's life at Antwerp—the pictures in which landscapes of his style appear behind figures painted by Joos van Cleve. This would be a valuable help toward a chronological arrangement of our artist's works.

Here let me digress to say that the more familiar I become with pictures of the Netherlands School of the first half of the sixteenth century, the more am I persuaded of the co-operative character of their production. There was much mere picture-manufacture then. Witness the multitude of repetitions of a few popular originals, often by different artists. I suspect that not only landscape backgrounds, but elaborate decorative details, such as architecture, brocaded or embroidered draperies, goldsmith's work, and the like accessories, were in certain cases the work of specialists. The kind of investigation one would have to undertake to prove this proposition would be tedious, and the result, if proved, incommensurate. The fact of manufacture is obvious; its processes are unimportant from the point of view of the history of anything worthy to be called Art.

A word in conclusion must be said about Joos van Cleve as a portrait-painter. Existing portraits by him are numerous and widely scattered. Friedländer enumerates a score and a half. They are of uniform quality and do not show a profounder insight with advancing years. The most attractive is his portrait of himself, which was in the Kaufmann Collection. He appears to be from forty to forty-five years of age. We possess two other portraits of him in the backgrounds of the two Dresden Adorations. In one he looks rather less than thirty-five, in the other approaching forty. His face does not express an attractive character—a canny, suspicious person one guesses him to be, but precise like his pictures, and holding the pink as he held his brush, delicately. It is scarcely fair to judge his early style by the Maximilian of 1510,

because he may have had no sitting for that picture, but painted it merely from public observation. The mouth lacks the " singular prognathism " of the original. The authors of the catalogue of the French Primitives Exhibition of 1904 suspect the attribution and refer to Gagnières' copy of a portrait of Charles Count of Angoulême, father of Francis I, which they say has the same coiffure and the same flower, but not the collar of the Golden Fleece. It is a comparison I have not been able to make, but even the bald statement is unconvincing. A pair of portraits by Joos are in the possession of Mr. E. G. Spencer-Churchill. One is of a girl in the character of the Magdalen, the other of a boy in a feathered cap. If he had been a prettier child the picture would have been more delightful. Joos van Cleve could do nothing to help him out. Portraits of a man and his wife in the Uffizi, the latter dated 1520, are not by or of Quentin Massys as used to be said. Neither is this mild gentleman Joos himself, though he might be a relative. They are just a pair of Antwerp folk nicely but unimaginatively depicted, and the portraits were probably the kind of good ordinary likenesses with which sitters are pleased. One of three portraits at Cassel is a more elaborate effort, as far as costume is concerned. It is not painted with Mabuse's bravura, but it is well enough, and the hat forms an effective frame for an intelligent face. Some interest attaches to the likeness of a man, one of a pair which in the Ellenborough sale passed into the hands of Messrs. Agnew,[1] because there is another portrait of him in the J. G. Johnson Collection.[2] In that picture he is stated to be 25 years of age, and his coat-of-arms is added, with six stars on a broad dark saltire, the field being light in tone; unfortunately, the tinctures are not recorded. He is a little puffier in the Philadelphia version, but the two cannot be separated by more than a very few years. The lady's picture is one of Joos' best, solidly modelled and well characterized, notwithstanding its plain formality. We may assign it to about the year 1530.

Among the royal portraits painted by Joos the Henry VIII at Hampton Court is the most interesting, because it shows us the

[1] Who were kind enough to give me photographs of them.

[2] No. 431, attributed by Valentiner to a Dutch artist of about 1560, but this date is more than a quarter of a century too late.

bluff king in the heyday of his light-hearted youth, and before the reaction of his deeds and mode of life had made him into the horrible image he became. He cannot here have reached the age of 45 which Friedländer would assign him; 35 seems to me an outside estimate, and I should have supposed him to be even less. Thus, indeed, he might have looked in 1520 (aged 29) at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, but the fashion of the cap involves a later date. This is the only picture of the king which enables us to understand the accounts of his bonhomie and attractiveness in the early years of his reign.

It would be difficult to set up a greater contrast than that presented by the best examples of the portrait of Francis I, such as those at Hampton Court and in the J. G. Johnson Collection. Joos' visit to the French Court is assigned roughly to about 1530, when he was in the plenitude of his powers. The king must have given him sittings, and here we have the best the artist could make of him. The picture has been highly, perhaps extravagantly, praised. "Whoever has seen this picture has seen Francis I, the man himself, neither more nor less": it is much to say, the writer estimating the king's age at about thirty, which would bring the date down to 1524. Evidently the artist took a great deal of pains, as much with the hands as with the face, and he must have painted more than one version with the same head, but changed costume and gesture of the right hand. It is a self-indulgent looking person that we have before us, who is beginning to grow coarse and will become coarser as the years go on. If Friedländer is correct in attributing the original of numerous versions of the portrait of Eleonore of Austria, at Hampton Court, Vienna, and elsewhere,[1] to our artist, it cannot have been made before 1530, the year of her marriage to Francis I, and that would confirm the date to which we have assigned the king's likeness. Hers is a parade-picture in a costume dominated by its large sleeves, but the face maintains the supremacy of its interest. Such a portrait might have given the satisfaction vouched for by Guicciardini.

At his best, then, we may call Joos van Cleve a good but not

[1] There are versions at Chantilly and in Lord Roden's possession, differing from one another in various details.

inspired portrait-painter. There was not, in fact, any great quality about his art. He was a good craftsman, trained in a good school, and inheriting a good tradition to which in the main he adhered. If he went astray in the direction of Mannerism and attempted dramatic effects altogether beyond the reach of his powers and gifts, he paid the penalty by handing down as part of his memorial a certain number of bad pictures. But he left many that are still found pleasing. They follow the direct line of the old school without its solidity or earnestness, but with a pleasing quality of their own that puts them in the same category as the works of Isenbrant and the best of the successors of Gerard David. The momentum of the old school was still strong enough to carry Joos van Cleve along to the end of his days.

The Antwerp painter who died mad and so acquired among his contemporaries the Flemish nickname Zotten van Cleve, or Sotte Cleve for short, has given more than enough trouble to students of the history of art. His Christian name was forgotten in his nickname. It was dimly remembered that he had something to do with Joos van Cleve, so he came to be called Joos van Cleve the younger. Presently he was confused with the elder Joos, and the two were fused into one—in fact, it was all chaos. Lampsonius, indeed, was clear enough that there were two different artists, father and son; but his five lines of verse seem to imply that it was the father who went mad. Van Mander did not help to clear up matters, though now that we know the facts we can see that he was not far out. He was aware that there was a Joos van Cleve who became master at Antwerp in 1511 and painted Virgins surrounded by angels, but he did not know what was his relation to Sotte Cleve, and, misled by Lampsonius, attributed the latter's misfortune to the former. He related that Joos had a son who was a famous painter, but thought his name was Joos also. Finally he knew that Joos had a son named Cornelis, but not that he was an artist. We need not pursue the confusion further. The facts as set forth in the *Burlington Magazine*[1] by Mr. F. J. van den Branden, the learned archivist of Antwerp, are as follows.

Sotte Cleve was the same as Cornelis van der Beke van Cleve,

[1] January 1915.

eldest son of Joos van Cleve. There was no Joos van Cleve the younger. The father was Joos, the son Cornelis. Cornelis was born in May 1520, and must have been the pupil of his father, who died when the youth was 20 years of age, having made his will on his deathbed in November 1540. The earliest known picture by Cornelis is a man's portrait dated 1543, which was purchased for Antwerp Museum just before the War. Mr. van den Branden describes it as " a really finely drawn and delicately finished portrait of a man, well lit and of beautiful colour, in fact a production which deserves to rank as a masterpiece." The present writer has had no opportunity of seeing it. Its pendant is in Berlin Museum.

Cornelis was above everything a portrait-painter, and as such he prospered. Before long he was well enough off to buy two houses in the Koningstraat. He had, doubtless, heard of his father's visit to England in the time of Henry VIII. The idea came to him to try his own fortune there in 1554 when Philip went over to marry Mary. An artist from the Spanish Netherlands might expect some patronage, and Cornelis had a friend at Court, Antony Mor, to put him forward. He hoped to be appointed court-painter in England, and it is a pity he was not. Accordingly he sold one of his houses, left his wife and daughter behind, and sailed away full of hope. Disappointment awaited him. Just then, as ill luck would have it, a consignment of pictures by Titian and others arrived in England, and Philip would look at nothing else. The disappointed artist blamed and abused Mor and went off his head, having apparently always been ill-balanced; he no doubt said and did many unwise things in his folly. " During three years," relates our authority, " he was kept in London in the hope of sending him back to his country cured." One wonders whose interest it was to keep him if he had formed no connexions and done no work. " Eventually he was sent back to Antwerp in 1560, where his stepmother, Joos' second wife, took charge of him." He never recovered. His savings were dissipated and he fell into poverty. In 1564 the authorities appointed his daughter's husband to be his guardian. He died three years later in 1567. It is to be hoped that Mr. van den Branden will be able to publish the documents on which his results are based.

The following portraits are attributed to Sotte Cleve with some confidence :

Antwerp : Portrait of a man, dated 1543.
Berlin (No. 633b) : Portrait of a woman, dated 1543, from Lord Grimthorpe's Collection.
Althorp : Portrait of himself.
Windsor : Portraits of himself and his wife.
Berlin (No. 633a) : Portrait of a young man, from the Blenheim Palace Collection.

Other portraits that approximate to his style, but are too much damaged or repainted for secure judgment are :

Christ Church, Oxford : Two portraits of men (Nos. 315, 316).
Lord Normanton's Collection : Portrait of a woman.

Hulin, in the Ghent Museum Catalogue, also mentions the record of a picture in an English inventory of 1590 as by Cornelius Vancleave of Antwerp, which proves that at that date the painter was remembered in England under his true name.

It is said that Sotte Cleve's portraits show the derivation of his style from his father. The connexion between them is not very close. The artistic parent of Cornelis was a greater than Joos. He went back to the fountain-head, to Quentin Massys. It was from him that the active hands were derived which critics too readily seized on as the mark of Cornelis, so that for a while every portrait with gesticulating fingers, especially if they were foreshortened, was liable to be attributed to him. Thus he was called the painter of the Man with the fine Hand at Munich (No. 660), which is not a Netherlands picture at all, and of the Havemeyer Carondelet, which must have been painted when Cornelis was about 15 years old. Whether I am right or not in attributing that picture to Quentin, it is, at all events, fairly evident that Sotte Cleve studied it and that it lingered in his memory when he was painting his own portrait now at Windsor.

His earliest existing pictures are the portraits of a man and wife, dated 1543. They place us at the point of view of a new generation. If the method of painting is that of preceding generations of Netherlands artists—the well-proved method which had

come down from the Van Eycks—if the colours are smoothly wrought together and surfaces delicately modelled, as by the son of Joos they well might be, the outlook upon men is fresh. They appear before us in the simple importance of their active humanity which Quentin had first expressed. The composition of the man's figure will recur in later works by Mor, who was the coeval of Cornelis, having been born about 1519. The two artists can hardly have met till both were formed, for Mor had been Scorel's pupil away off in Holland. If there was any borrowing it was Cornelis who was the lender. One gets the impression that he would have been too proud to take a hint from anyone less highly placed than the departed Quentin. The sitter was probably some well-to-do Antwerp merchant, and we may be sure that the Oriental rug was not introduced as a table-cloth without purpose, while the classical column behind manifests the artist's breach with mediævalism.

The Althorp portrait is of the painter himself.[1] The eyebrows prove it. In the present condition of the panel the hands are only partly shown, one of them pointing with the index finger. The picture marks a considerable advance on the portraits of 1543. With all its apparent simplicity it is a subtle composition. It may have been painted about 1545 or a little later. Fifteenth century traditions still linger in it, but like a fading echo. The characteristic modelling of the brow will be noted. It is the upper part of the head that attracts attention. The mouth is sensitive, but lacks force. This man's emotions might dominate his will. The insistence on the vertical line at the back of the neck and its sharp angle with the almost straight shoulder line is a dominating note of a striking linear scheme, a firm geometrical frame by which the subtly modelled surfaces are held together.

The self-portrait at Windsor, compared with that at Althorp, marks a development in the painter's art and no less notable physical changes. The personality within the image before us is more clearly defined, not by the painter's increased skill alone, but by the stronger imprint which character has stamped upon

[1] Another version of this was in the Rothan sale (1890). The left hand does not appear in that, but it may have been painted out. The lack of it upsets the balance of the composition. The picture was attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo ! This version suggests that a strip has been cut off the bottom of the Althorp picture, which has an abbreviated look.

form and features. We must date the picture about 1554, not later, seeing that it is the pendant to the portrait of his wife, who remained behind in Antwerp when he went to England. Here he has grown suspicious and discontented. It is an agitated expression which the gesticulating fingers enforce. He seems to be arguing or protesting. He has expanded in volume both physically and mentally. He has passed through passionate experiences. He is a strongly marked individual, and a great contrast to his patient, restrained, dutiful, but intelligent and understanding wife, whose life has evidently not been easy. While his fingers nervously gesticulate, her reposeful hands hold her beads.

Though it is now agreed that neither the Havemeyer Carondelet nor the Munich Man with the fine Hand (No. 660) can have been painted by Sotte Cleve, it is probable that the Windsor portrait is not independent of them, nor one of them of the other. In point of time the Carondelet comes first, the Munich picture second, and the Sotte Cleve third. Our painter may have known the first, and may have seen the second and taken from it a suggestion for the design of his own hands. At this early date such a gesture was a novelty. Like novelties are not independently invented by different artists of connected schools and of about the same period. The trouble with the Munich picture is that Holbein experts assert it to be Netherlandish, while Flemish experts insist that it is German and would like to ascribe it to Holbein. The picture, moreover, is not in good condition. A possible solution is that it was painted by an artist of the school of Holbein who had seen the Carondelet. If the work was done in Antwerp it might have come under the eyes of Cornelis. Probably our artist carried with him to England as examples of his handiwork the two Windsor pictures and the Althorp portrait. He might well regard them with pride, for Holbein alone among Northern artists had equalled them since Quentin Massys died. They uphold Van Mander's statement that Sotte Cleve was the best colourist of his time and school. As ill-luck would have it, his arrival in England was simultaneous with the receipt by Philip of the aforesaid consignment of pictures by Titian and others—presumably Italians—and Philip had eyes for nothing else. Mor may have done the best he could for his friend; he accomplished nothing, and Cornelis went off his

head, as already related. It is not to be concluded that he sold no pictures and did no work at all in England because he was not appointed court-painter. A late catalogue states that the Windsor portraits were purchased by Charles I, but this is probably an error, and their re-purchase by Charles II after the Restoration is probably referred to. They may have been presented to Queen Mary by the painter.

The portrait of a young man at Berlin is Sotte Cleve's most attractive picture. It is an extraordinarily subtle rendering of a highly intelligent and interesting youth, perhaps not an Englishman. That Rubens should have made the copy of it which now hangs in the Munich Gallery (No. 786) shows how highly he esteemed it. It is said to have belonged to him. In date it may not be much later than the Althorp picture, but it is painted on paper, like Quentin's Head of an Old Man, and the reason may have been in both cases the same—the absence of the artist from his home and lack of the required panel to paint on. Cornelis overcame the intractable surface with ease. No picture of his is more delicately modelled. The sitter must have interested him: he rendered with complete sympathy and understanding the lazily observant eyes and the little twist of the eyebrow. A dark hat and cloak set off and enframe the brightly lit countenance, which shines out upon us with a singular radiance. It is a picture for a house rather than a gallery, one to be lived with, not glanced at in passing.

Had the English Court been better advised, the services of Cornelis van Cleve would have been secured and a gallery of the notables of the reign of Mary and the early years of Elizabeth, worthy to be compared with Holbein's priceless memorials of the statesmen who surrounded Henry VIII, would have been our inheritance. Moreover, the standard he would have set could not have been without effect upon public taste. Imitators and followers would have arisen, and the portraits of the next generation would not have been the dull series we have to put up with. The gods decreed otherwise, and history has to record one more failure to profit by a great opportunity.

CHAPTER XXVIII

BERNARD VAN ORLEY

Of Bernard van Orley, the Court Painter of Brussels, it is not easy for me to write with discrimination, his large pictures being of a kind unsympathetic to me. The historian of art must continually remind himself that the taste of an individual cannot be a criterion of all the kinds of art of the past. Artists paint for the people of their day according to the ideals of their day. It is their business to express those ideals in the forms which appeal to the taste of their contemporaries. If the cultured folk of a society at any given time have admired the work of an artist, that is proof that it was good of its kind, however unpopular the kind may afterward become. We cannot deny Van Orley's gifts. His ability is obvious. "We do not like you, Dr. Fell," is the attitude of most of us, but we also take the liberty to dislike other meritorious persons without thereby assuming the right to condemn them.

Van Orley's unattractive qualities, and the fact that his pleasing pictures were ascribed to Mabuse and others, deprived him of the careful attention of many able students, who preferred to devote their labours elsewhere. It was thus left to the conscientious Friedländer to be the first critic in our own day who has taken the master in hand, examined his work with care, pruned away from it a mass of false accretion, and given back a charming group to the list of his genuine works. The results, as published in four contributions to the *Annual* of the Prussian Museums for 1908–9, are the main authority on which the following remarks are based.

Bernard van Orley was born at Brussels, the son of one Valentin, a painter, who married in 1490. The date of Bernard's birth is guessed at about 1492–5, his elder brother having been born in 1491. Bernard's portrait, painted by Dürer in 1521, helps toward this estimate. In 1512 Valentin moved to Antwerp and joined

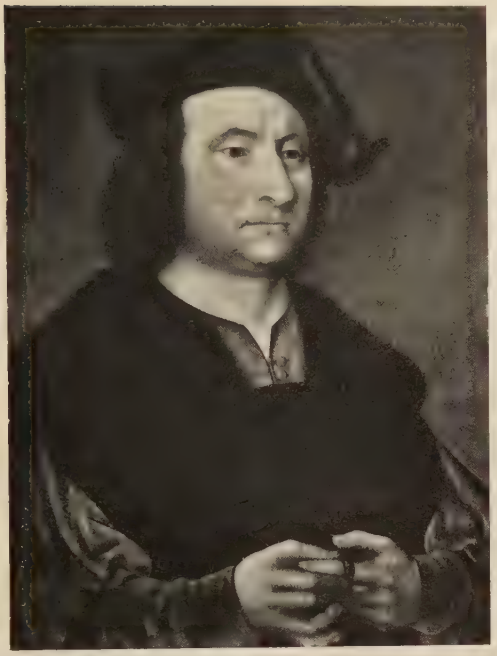
the guild there, but by that date Bernard had doubtless been educated, partly or wholly by his father, and it seems probable that he stayed behind in Brussels. About then our artist began to work on his own account, and it is assumed that his art was entirely a Brussels product, formed in that city at the time when Colin de Coter was the leading painter there. His likeness introduces us to a singularly winning, intelligent, and bright personality. It is easy to conclude that his success as a court-painter was due as much to his personal charm as to his artistic abilities. In 1515 he was already employed by the Regent Margaret of Austria, and three years later he was formally appointed court-painter. He died in 1540 after a prosperous and active but rather short career.

The earliest work assigned to him is the altar-piece of SS. Thomas and Matthias, whereof the centre-piece is at Vienna (No. 765) and the wings at Brussels (No. 337). If this is correctly dated to 1512 it was a precocious work. It is constructed on the Brussels plan. When the wings are open the whole displays four subjects treated on an equal scale, the two on the central panel being divided, not by a moulding (as was the usual type), but by a painted column elaborately decorated. These pictures display no close connexion with the art of Colin or any other identified Brussels painter. The obvious link is with Antwerp and the Antwerp Mannerists, though their later extravagance of movement and superfluity of incident is here wanting. The main events happen under ill-proportioned architectural canopies of a bastard Italian character. The introduction of a greyhound and the type of some of the heads remind us a little of the pictures attributed to Jan de Beer. Prejudice is compelled to admit some obvious merits in the picture. The heads are well painted. Their creator has mentally beheld the figures thus related to one another, not mechanically fitted them together. Expressions, gestures, and positions match. Costumes are not eccentric. One wonders why the whole is not more pleasing. The landscape is of the good old style, and might have been designed by the elder Bouts as far as its forms are concerned.

Other paintings attributed to this period (1512–15) are the St. Norbert at Munich (No. 157), a Madonna with St. Anne (Coll. Lafora, Madrid), a Magi (Coll. J. G. Johnson, No. 400), and an Abraham's



1. JOOS VAN CLEVE. MESSRS. COLNAGHI. p. 409.



2. JOOS VAN CLEVE. WORCESTER, MASS. p. 411.



3. SOTTE CLEVE. ANTWERP GALLERY.—p. 415.



4. B. VAN ORLEY. COLL. EMDEN.—p. 421.

[*To face page* 420.

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Sacrifice at Schwerin (No. 757). The last-mentioned is an attractive picture in which the several incidents are placed along a road that winds up a hill. The treatment of rocks and vegetation is delicate, and keeps close to nature. So does the scrap of view to one side. Abraham, standing in the foreground with back turned and arm outstretched, is an admirable figure whose like is not easy to find north of the Alps, a contrast in firm simple pose, well-proportioned limbs, and graceful gesture, to his coarse-footed, underbred-looking son, with an old man's head on his young shoulders, who sits near by drinking a dish of water. If the artist invented Isaac, he must surely have stolen Abraham.

Toward the end of this period is placed a charming Virgin with angels which was in the Emden Collection (No. 89) at Hamburg. They are seated by a fountain on a flowery terrace close to the façade of a fine house, and there are peacocks on the low wall behind them and a view away to the far-off spire of a village church. The Mother is sweetly and affectionately embracing her baby with an emotion not so well expressed in any other Northern picture of the day. The architecture of the house is absurd, and the fountain a ragged post of meaningless tracery, but the figures are delightful and so is the picture as a whole. A Virgin and Child with angels at Worcester, Mass., may be grouped with this picture.

A couple of Madonnas at Madrid which may be dated a year or two later possess similar elements of charm. In one, the Virgin sits on a marble platform before an elaborately sculptured niche, and the whole is so much under the influence of Mabuse that the picture was long attributed to him. In the other, which is disguised by repaints, the background is a more extensive landscape than usual with Bernard, delightfully studied from nature and free from all trace of Patinir design. For these Madonnas the painter has sought models possessing physical beauty and has not sought in vain. Few prettier Virgins emanated from a Netherland workshop. Small wonder, then, that Van Orley's Madonnas were popular or that he was called upon to supply many about this date. Thus there is one at Glasgow, again in the open air by a less fussy fountain, and a second version of it in the Ambrosiana (rescued from Bellegambe by Friedländer). Others are or were in the Traumann

and Schloss Collections, and one is in the National Gallery (No. 714). If Orley were represented only by such pretty pictures as these his reputation would be happier.

But in the same period he was also painting altar-pieces and religious works, such as one for Furnes, whereof part of a wing remains at Turin (No. 318); others at Cassel and Brussels.[1] There are versions of the Virgin's Seven Sorrows in Antwerp and Rome (Colonna Gall.), the former deeply suffering, for Orley was able to depict grief, the latter merely posed and possibly not from his own hand. The seven incidents are in as many separate medallions swimming in clouds. A corresponding Seven Joys at Rome repeats for the central figures the old design often above referred to as the Madonna with a Flower. These and other religious pictures of the period may once have been efficient aids to devotion; they convey little joy to a modern eye.

A later group of Madonnas dating from about 1520 to 1522 were painted under rather a strong Mabuse influence. One is half of a diptych to accompany a half-length portrait of Regent Margaret. It survives alone in the Wied Collection, the other panel only in a copy. A half-length which was in the Hoogendijk sale comes very near indeed to such a Mabuse as that in the Kaufmann Collection, which may have been painted about three years earlier. The Louvre Holy Family of 1521 also strongly recalls Mabuse, and suggests that Orley may have seen the diptych of which the National Gallery portrait formed half. Orley's architecture here perhaps implies that his panel also was half of a diptych. The Madonna in the Dansette Collection, known to me only by a bad photograph, appears to be connected with Mabuse's Virgin with the long white veil, but when we come to the Pablo Bosch Holy Family dated 1522, now in the Prado, we find that the Mabuse influence has given place to that of Raphael. About 1516 to 1522 was thus the duration of Orley's Mabuse period.

The head of St. Joseph in this Holy Family betrays the painter's approximation to another artist. When Dürer was in Brussels in the last days of August 1520 he wrote in his diary how Master Bernard van Orley invited him to a dinner for which ten florins

[1] Brussels Hospital, dated 1520. It was No. 163 in the Bruges Exhibition of 1902. It is a polyptych and includes the work of assistants.

would hardly pay,[1] and how he had distinguished officials to meet him; he gave Bernard an Engraved Passion, and Bernard gave him a black Spanish bag worth three florins. Dürer also drew Bernard's likeness in charcoal and, either from that drawing or from life, when he was at Brussels again in the following July, painted the admirable portrait of his host now a treasure in the Dresden Gallery (No. 1871). All this bespeaks a mutual attraction. When the Madrid picture was successfully cleaned and had regained much of its ancient brilliancy, it occurred to Dr. Tormo [2] that the head of St. Joseph closely resembled the head of the old man drawn at Antwerp by Dürer on a sheet of paper, now in the Albertina. Comparing this study with a bad photograph of the picture a resemblance is visible, but not amounting to identity. The positions of the heads are different. The Düreresque quality of the Orley head is, however, obvious enough, but Dr. Tormo's contention that Dürer actually painted it in on his friend's panel can only be established or refuted in presence of the picture.

There is in the British Museum a good drawing by Van Orley of Lazarus at the Rich Man's Feast. The design of the great baldacchino behind the table links it to the earliest picture we mentioned, the Vienna Thomas and Matthias. As that reminded us of Jan de Beer, so also does this by the fashion of a woman's sleeve, here and in one of de Beer's roundels at Basle. The drawing is well and spaciously composed, and all the attitudes are quiet and simple. It may date from a few years earlier than the time at which we have arrived. Van Orley used or re-used it for one of the wing panels of the Job altar-piece, painted in 1521, which is now in the Brussels Gallery. Here the influence of Mabuse is apparent, but so is that of Raphael, for the figure on the right wing is copied out of the Heliodorus fresco, a transfer which by no means forces us to send our painter journeying to Rome and back. Raphael's designs were spread abroad in all kinds of ways, and Orley was no doubt familiar with his tapestry cartoons, which were actually in Brussels for many years. The Job altar-piece, as Friedländer points out, marks a change in our painter's ideals.

[1] A writer reminds us that ten florins would then buy three fat oxen. It seems the equivalent of a lot of food.

[2] *Boll. de la Soc. Española de Excursiones*, 1916, pt. i.

He now began to strive after sensationalism. The prominent fashion in which he signed this picture is proof of the pride he took in his achievement. In the Cook Collection is a fragment of a large picture which contained a Crucifixion. It likewise is of sensational character, but the heads, notably that of St. John, are finely and expressively painted. Similarly remarkable heads, still influenced by Mabuse, distinguish the Hanneton Family altar-piece at Brussels; clearly the painter had in mind an earlier treatment of the same subject, the Mourning over the Dead Christ, which, like this, showed only the heads and arms of figures drawn on a relatively large scale, and closely packed together against a spotted gold background. Such backgrounds appear to have been popular in Brusssels. Orley's later pictures—the Last Judgment of 1525 at Antwerp, the Crucifixion at Rotterdam, or that in Notre Dame at Bruges, which he left unfinished—present no important new developments. The last-mentioned is believed to have been begun as intended altar-piece for Margaret of Austria's mortuary church of Brou at Bourg-en-Bresse (Ain), but she died in 1530, before the painting had been finished, and it was put on one side, and only completed after the painter's death by Marc Geeraerts.

As a portrait artist Van Orley, though not first-rate, was not without merit. We have no portraits by him that can be dated before 1515, the year in which he became attached to the Court. Perhaps his first official order was to paint a picture of the six children of Philip the Fair for a present to the King of Denmark, and it was repeated in the following year. In the Fétis sale (No. 47) was a diptych by a second-rate painter containing the portraits of these same children, all six in a row, the two boys on one half, the girls on the other, with their names and birth-dates inscribed. That cannot have been painted after 1508 or 1509 at latest. It serves to show the kind of picture Orley was commissioned to repeat. The Louvre and Naples Galleries possess copies of a portrait of Charles V in early youth, of which other examples and variants are known.[1] As he wears the Jewel of the Fleece on a collar and not on a ribbon, we may guess that the original was

[1] Friedländer thinks there may have been a second original behind the versions in Bruges Cathedral, the Borghese Gallery (No. 281), and a Paris collection.

painted in 1515 or early in 1516. The fashion of the hat, the medallion on the brim, and other accessories agree with the Macquoid copy of the Mabuse portrait miscalled Philip of Burgundy, which we have already dated to 1516. It was the time when Orley was coming under the influence of Mabuse, having probably been in personal contact with him on the occasion of one of his summonses to work at court. There is so much in common between the two paintings that one is almost tempted to ask whether an Orley original is not behind each of them. The far more vivid and imaginative rendering of the aspect of Charles V which is at Budapest is ascribed by Friedländer to Orley, but I can neither agree with him as to the date he assigns to it nor in the ascription. I can discover no appreciable difference of age between the youth in the Louvre and the Budapest pictures, and I do not believe that the prince wore the same hat for four or five years, as Friedländer would make him. All Orley's authentic portraits depict the sitter in a quite ordinary pose—head upright, usually turned in three-quarters to right or left, rarely full-face –in fact, the old-fashioned convention of the school. If Orley had once composed a portrait in the free and delightful fashion of the Budapest picture he would not have returned to mechanical poses for the rest of his days. There is another artistic personality behind the Budapest painting which can only be that of Mabuse, whether the actual painting of the existing picture be by his hand or not.

The portrait of Margaret of Austria in the Carvalho Collection is well-known. It is a picture depending for its effect upon the colours, and especially upon the dark-green background behind the bluish-white headdress of the widow. The same head appeared on a three-quarter length portrait which formed half of the diptych known to us by the copy in the Lescarts Collection, the date of which is approximately 1520. We have no lack of likenesses of this princess. There is the medal of 1501 by Jean Marende de Bourg, the sculptured figures at Bourg-en-Bresse by Conrad Meyt, as well as a charming little box-wood bust of her by the same artist at Munich, in which she is dressed exactly as here, with the omission of the veil on her forehead. The sculptor might have used and perhaps did use Van Orley's picture to help him, for patrons appear to have been bad sitters in those days. Our painter also introduced

her as Charity into his Crucifixion picture now at Rotterdam, but that was painted some eight years later, the likeness being treated freely, and the hard Hapsburg features softened and enlivened.

It is natural to compare with the princess's portrait one of a lady which is in the Uffizi, with her husband as pendant (Nos. 821, 839). They show how closely the artist adhered to a formula. The attitude, direction of the eyes, treatment of the head-dress, and entirely reposeful expression are in both the same, only the hand is changed and made to hold the commonplace glove; but the face is subtly treated and the coarse features endowed with a sweet expression.

A signed and dated picture, authenticated with the name of the sitter, is a godsend which the Brussels Gallery (No. 334) preserves. It shows us Dr. George van Zelle as he appeared when 28 years of age in 1519. He was attached to the Hospital of St. John in Brussels, for which Orley was no doubt then painting the altar-piece, delivered in 1520. A modern eye would estimate his age at nearer 40 than the stated 28. They aged quickly in those days, and the fact has to be remembered when guessing ages from portraits of this school and period. Here the painter has introduced an unusual number of accessories, stimulated, perhaps, by what Massys was doing at Antwerp, but the position of the sitter is as ordinary as ever. His hands and his possessions are more in evidence; that is all. It is not a profound study of the man, but may have been a good likeness. Approximately contemporary is the Brussels portrait of an Imperial Secretary in the time of Maximilian. Orley would not thus have disposed him if he had not been acquainted with Quentin's epoch-making Peter Gillis of 1517, but the echo of that master's powerful note is weak. Here the hands lie feebly and betray nothing of the sitter's mood. The expression is inert. Surely more could have been made of this probably experienced civil servant. There is enough visible in his face to suggest greater force and capacity than the painter has availed to display.

A few years later (about 1525) we may place the reconstituted diptych of the much portrayed Carondelet, whereof the Madonna half is in the Northbrook Collection and the portrait at Munich (No. 133). A comparison with Mabuse's massive and refined

contemporary presentment of the same statesman and prelate suffices to put Van Orley definitely on a lower plane. Nor can his picture rank with that in the Havemeyer (formerly Duchatel) Collection, which was wrongly ascribed to Sotte Cleve and is probably by Quentin. Moreover, these two are not independent of one another, and it is Orley's version which is subordinate to the other. The Havemeyer picture is by far the more forcible and vivid, an obviously direct impression of the man himself made upon an artist of genius. The other is a dim reflection of it, a line-for-line repetition of the head with all the vigour lost. It may be that Carondelet ordered the diptych mainly for the sake of the Madonna, which is one of Orley's best, or that he bought the Madonna and commissioned the portrait to be added in his absence, leaving the Havemeyer version for the painter to follow. In any case, the portrait is a most damning picture for Orley's reputation. Far superior is that of a man with a dated paper in his hand at Dresden (No. 811). Unfortunately, the last figure of the date is not certain, though 1522 seems to be the correct reading. There is more character in the pose of the heavy head and the expression of the massive features than we have thus far found, but the composition is uninteresting and the artist, in placing the hands, seems to have been mainly concerned to get them out of the way of the pattern on the table-cloth.

A miniature at Berlin depicts Henry III, Count of Nassau, painted on or after his marriage in 1524. He is said to have been a patron of Van Orley, to whom, therefore, the work was tentatively ascribed. The miniature, though showing the Count older and with slight changes of costume, is obviously dependent upon a superior portrait, of which there is a version at Woerlitz. This proceeds from the entourage of Mabuse and may be a copy of an original by him. It has nothing to do with Orley. Whether Hulin is right in attributing to our artist the half-length picture of a lady in the character of the Magdalen, which was in the Cardon Collection, must be regarded as uncertain. It was called a portrait of Isabella of Austria and attributed to Mabuse ; neither attribution can be upheld. Her head is a hard little nut carefully rounded, and she has dark eyes, pouting lips, and accurately dressed hair, all above a stiff little neck, but her great puffed and pleated sleeves,

so admirably drawn with their intricate convolutions, attract the attention. The girl is subordinated to her clothes. The painting of the sleeves is what reminds us of Mabuse; if Orley was the craftsman he must have done the work in the days when he was under that painter's influence.

A bare reference to Van Orley's activity as designer of tapestries must suffice. An excursion into the domain of weaving would carry us far beyond the limits assigned to the present study. Tapestry-designing was an important part, perhaps the most important, of the business of the Brussels School. If we find a relative paucity of Brussels paintings of our period, it is because the men who should have made them were otherwise occupied. Many of Orley's designs for tapestries and tapestries made after Orley's designs still exist. The designs are not cartoons, but the drawings from which the cartoons were enlarged. You cannot test the quality of tapestry by a small drawing for it. The drawing may not seem particularly attractive, but the tapestry may justify it by the splendour of its decorative effect. Princes of those days valued their tapestries more highly than their pictures, because they cost incomparably more. I have seen it stated that Regent Margaret paid Orley for his pictures about two florins per square foot, which seems inadequate.[1] It cost at the rate of 2,000 francs to produce a square yard of tapestry of high quality, and that was a year's work for a skilled weaver. No wonder skilled artists were glad to be employed designing such works and were well paid for so doing. Jan Mostaert is said to have been Margaret's chief designer till Orley succeeded him,[2] but at what date the latter was first occupied on tapestry cartoons is not recorded. Those for the hunts of Maximilian, of which the designs and the finished works themselves are preserved in the Louvre, were certainly drawn in or before 1525. There are designs dated 1524 at Munich and others undated. Both designs (in the Louvre) and tapestries (at Naples) of the series glorifying the Victory of Pavia likewise exist. The designs date from about 1528. Friedländer gives a list of fifteen single tapestries or sets of tapestry made after

[1] Dürer received thirty florins for the King of Denmark's portrait.

[2] On what ground this assertion rests, I know not, nor whether any existing tapestries display Mostaert's style. I know of none.

Van Orley and still existing in whole or in part. An early example is the Pietà woven with gold and silver threads which was in the Duke of Alva's sale (1877). In composition it agrees with the mid panel of the Hanneton triptych. Another Pietà which was No. 163 in the Cernuschi sale (1900) bears a corresponding relation to part of the Bruges Crucifixion above referred to. For us in England the most interesting survivals are eight of an original set of ten tapestries still to be seen at Hampton Court. These are late works. The designing of decorative work of this kind seems to have employed most of Van Orley's time in the last fifteen years of his life. He was better thus engaged than in painting pictures. There is an exuberance about his tapestries which well enough suits their character and purpose; if they are effective even now we may be sure that they were more so in their first brilliance. One can imagine such pomp-loving princes as Henry VIII and Francis I finding Van Orley's tapestries an admirable background for the pageantry of their courts.

Tapestries were not the only decorative products which Orley was called upon to design. Painted glass windows for the Church of St. Gudule in Brussels were also of his invention, and Friedländer would likewise credit him with a fine example at Hoogstraeten. There is in the Albertina a beautiful drawing, evidently for a glass roundel, depicting Justice, a figure freely imitated from Marcantonio's engraving. It is falsely inscribed as by Mabuse. Winkler would attribute it to Orley, and he may be right. In that case it is one of his most graceful and attractive compositions.[1]

Van Orley seems also to have been consulted about architectural projects. He was, at any rate, employed to make architectural drawings. Thus his was the hand that drew out the design of the architect Wyenhofen for the chapel of the Sacrament in St. Gudule's at Brussels that it might be displayed to the Regent Mary of Hungary on the laying of the foundation stone. There exists in the Berlin print-room an admirably drawn design for the recumbent monument of a Princess richly decorated with sculptures and arabesques. Four emblematic figures fill the niches in the sarcophagus and sculptured groups of Virtues sit at the angles, but the

[1] Reproduced in *Archiv f. Kunstgesch.*, pl. xix.

shields held by *putti* above the cornice are blank, and there is nothing to show whom the recumbent figure is intended to represent. It is an excellent drawing of a good design, but there is no reason to suppose that Orley was the designer. He probably acted as skilled exponent of some less deft-handed artist's idea. When Isabella of Austria, sister of Charles V and wife of King Christian of Denmark, died in 1526, the advice of Mabuse was asked about her monument. Is it possible that this design may have been made on the same occasion? It was well reproduced in the *Annual* of the Prussian Museums for 1915 and with it a curious composition for a triptych in which people appear carrying heavy chains, but the meaning of the principal subjects and subsidiary incidents awaits explanation.

I do not propose to delay the reader over Van Orley's followers. They were unimportant as picture-makers, and their work is unattractive. Bernard was neither a great artist nor a great teacher. He had his pupils, of course, one named Bartholomew, probably Coninxloo, whom he lent to Dürer to grind his colours when he was painting the King of Denmark's portrait. The lad was a connexion of Bernard. He belonged to a large Brussels family of artists. Another of them was John van Coninxloo, who painted pictures that can still be seen. The student may read about him in J. Roosvals' book on Brussels wood-carved altars in Swedish churches.[1] This John and Bernard and other relations and artists got into horrible trouble together in 1527, and were prosecuted for heretical tendencies and opinions. It is from the record of these proceedings that we get information about the few leading facts of Van Orley's life that are known. There was also Cornelis van Coninxloo, who signed a picture of the Virgin's Parents which is in the Brussels Museum, dated 1526. It contains a few figures and an immense structure of elaborately carved and decorated stonework, half-throne, half-apse, before or on which they sit. The name Cornelis is likewise signed on the hem of the Virgin's garment in a Madonna picture imitated from Mabuse's Palermo triptych.[2] They are skilfully painted and entertaining works, but decadent. If Peter Coeck of Alost, referred to in a

[1] Strassburg, Heitz, 1903, p. 38.

[2] In the collection of M. de Richter. See *Revue de l'Art*, October 1908.

previous chapter, was in fact Orley's pupil, as Van Mander asserts, and if he was the same person as the Master of the Last Suppers, who was so busy at Antwerp, here is a link to carry the Brussels Master's influence down the years a little further, for Peter Bruegel was Coeck's pupil. Coeck is known to have been connected with the tapestry industry. Friedländer cites five drawings attributed to him in the British Museum, which show a close relation to Van Orley ; he is not willing, off-hand, to refuse assent to the traditional designation. An Orley element is evident in pictures from the Last Supper workshop, but the questions thus raised and the lines of inquiry opened cannot be pursued here or by me. They belong to the later school and the growing, not the fading, style. I resist with ease the temptation to linger over these men and thankfully turn away from Bernard van Orley, his followers, and all his works.

CHAPTER XXIX

JAN MOSTAERT AND SOME ANONYMOUS DUTCH PAINTERS

Our survey of the work of the Netherlands painters has now to be concluded with an examination of the pictures painted in Holland by artists down to and including Lucas van Leyden, who carried on and presently transformed the ideals and traditions of the school of Geertgen. If the churches of the Low Countries had remained furnished and decorated as they were in the middle of the sixteenth century, we should not only have had many more painted altar-pieces by the best artists to guide us but also examples of wall and vault decoration. Destruction of pictures and windows in Reformation riots and the whitewashing of walls have deprived us of most of these works of art, but in Holland a few examples of painted vaults survive. We have already dealt with the paintings at Zutphen; those of Alkmaar and Naarden will presently claim our attention, but a few minor artists must first be dealt with.

The reader will remember that thus far all the Dutch artists whose work has attracted our attention, except the Delft Virgo Master, were connected with the city of Haarlem, the cradle of Dutch art. Bouts, Ouwater, Geertgen, all led us to Haarlem, and in the years to come other great painters were to add to the reputation of that art centre, though it was not destined to remain supreme. Events were even now tending to elevate Amsterdam to a commanding position as centre of the waxing energy of Dutch life. Where life is strongest the art of a people necessarily reaches its fullest development. Haarlem, therefore, was bound to hand on the torch to Amsterdam, but the flame was also kindled in other places, so that in the great days of the seventeenth century there was no centre of population in Holland without its group of meritorious painters.

The moment we have now reached was marked by the development of Leyden as an art centre. Delft also and Gouda were awake.

In fact, wherever the printing press flourished artists may be looked for. It is remarkable that Amsterdam was late in setting up a press. Whereas Haarlem, Leyden, Delft, Gouda, Deventer, even Schiedam and Schoonhoven, had their printing houses in the fifteenth century, it was 1518 before a printer settled regularly at Amsterdam. Whether the painter we have now to consider came out of Haarlem or Leyden is not known. Some critics vote for the one, some for the other, and he may have come from either. It is away up at Alkmaar that we light upon him. In date, he belonged to the same generation as Lucas van Leyden's father, Hugo Jacobsz, and some think that may have been he, but it is a sheer guess. His little modicum of fame is based upon the paintings of the Works of Mercy on six panels, some dated 1504, which belong to St. Lawrence's Church. They are more interesting than beautiful, and the public is much entertained by them when they are loaned to an exhibition. From the nature of the subjects they introduce us to the contemporary life of their day, giving us glimpses of Dutch streets and ordinary folk, and the horrible interior of a prison. Here are no saints or imagined adorations, but just common burghers and beggars, only among the latter, and as one of them, is always Christ, not otherwise recognizable than by the typical but unhaloed head. Nothing distinguishes the well-to-do save the solid sufficiency of their clothes. There is here no splendour of costume or Antwerp extravagance, but solid Dutch well-being. The variety of the human types is most precious. Bruegel is anticipated. Nor are heads the only expressive elements. Each figure is individual in crouch or strut. It is a very simple art; not much learning in the perspective, no bold foreshortenings, no subtlety of atmosphere or colouring; but the colours bright and good, the story well told, the effect decorative. Learned critics find traces of the not very obvious influence of Geertgen and discover elements which were to be handed on to Scorel. They may be right. The artist similarly expresses his simple nature in a picture of Christ in the House of Simon at Budapest (No. 690).[1] The head of Christ in it is equivalent to a signature. Here again the figures efficiently tell the tale.

[1] It was in the Ropp sale (No. 59) in 1890. Friedländer attributed it to the Master of the Magdalen Legend.

Other pictures attributed to him are in Amsterdam Museum (Nos. 534 and 535), but I cannot accept as his either the Dresden Holy Family which Vogelsang gives to him, or the picture in the J. G. Johnson Collection (No. 351) assigned to him by Valentiner. Both seem to me the work of separate artists, wholly different from him in nature, education, and style.

The likeness also escapes me between his work and the rude decorative paintings on the wooden vault of the Church of St. Guy at Naarden, on the road from Utrecht to Amsterdam.[1] The painter of those unfortunately only identified himself by his "mark," to which he added the arms of St. Luke, the patron of his craft, and of Amsterdam, the city from which he doubtless came. The work was finished in 1518, that is to say, at a time when Cornelis Engebrechtsen, Jacob van Oostsanen, and Lucas van Leyden were all at work. The painter seems to have been influenced by the second. Truth to tell, the pictures are not great works of art, even when every allowance has been made for the action of time and blundering restorers. They depict a set of Old Testament types and of the incidents in the Passion they are supposed to foreshadow, painted in a bold, summary way, to produce their effect at a distance. They may once have been effective. They possess the narrative virtue common in the Dutch School, and are not ill-composed. Faces are often strongly characterized to the degree of exaggeration. Groups are reduced to as small a number of figures as may be. Action is emphatic. The design, in fact, is not bad; if the painting is crude, the position it was calculated for must be remembered.

A finer set of vault paintings, finished in 1519, are those which I had the good fortune to see still in their original position over the choir of the Church at Alkmaar. They produced rather a striking effect even in their sadly ruined condition. They have since been removed for better keeping to the Museum at Amsterdam. The subject depicted is the Last Judgment and the design is on traditional lines, with the newly risen folk below, the heavenly

[1] The Naarden, Alkmaar, Warmenhuizen, and Enkhuysen vault paintings are reproduced in G. van Kalcken's *Peintures Ecclésiastiques du moyen-âge*, Haarlem. The Warmenhuizen pictures do not fall within our present scope. Those at Enkhuysen are so badly damaged as to be of little use for our inquiry.

powers in the air, Hell on the sinister and Heaven on the dexter side. For visibility at a distance the figures or groups are widely spaced, with attention paid to silhouette rather than modelling. They are ably drawn on the whole, ugly in type but vigorous, the work of an artist far superior to the Naarden painter. Resemblances to the style of Jacob Cornelisz of Oostsanen have been pointed out, and I am far from certain that he may not have had a hand in the design; but the finger of probability points to his elder brother, Cornelis Buys. The Buys family produced several generations of painters, respectable craftsmen, though not men of genius. There was a second Cornelis Buys, son of the supposed painter of this vault, and pictures by him are known.[1] The elder Cornelis is recorded to have been paid in 1516 for painting a coat-of-arms in the Alkmaar vault, and it is likely that the whole set of heraldic decorations were by the same hand as the Last Judgment. He was the best painter resident in Alkmaar. He was also the first Master of Scorel, whose talent he is said to have discovered. Scorel on his return from Italy about 1524 completed a picture which Buys left unfinished at his death. Attempts to attribute other works to him have thus far failed of acceptance. Of his brother Jacob van Oostsanen we shall have more to say presently.

An unattractive, but historically not unimportant painter, brought to light by Friedländer[2] must receive at least a passing notice. The probability is that he, like the Virgo Master, worked at Delft, but in the early years of the sixteenth century. His most important known picture is a Crucifixion triptych presented to the National Gallery by the late Lord Brownlow. It is one of those multitudinous Calvaries, at that day popular, to-day repellent, with all manner of incidents crowded together on the three panels in a manner involving no little knowledge and ingenuity, and an imagination callous to the horrible. The wings of a picture shown in Amsterdam Museum (No. 50) are attributed to the same artist. They contain portraits of a Burgomaster of Delft and his family; in the sky of each wing is the rude repre-

[1] Amsterdam, No. 666; Vienna, No. 768. A Good Samaritan, dated 1537, shown in the Utrecht Exhibition of 1913 (No. 89), has also been attributed to him, but very doubtfully. He died at Alkmaar in 1546. See remarks by Prof. J. Six in G. van Kalcken's *Peintures Ecclésiastiques du moyen-âge*, 1st series.

[2] *Burlington Mag.*, May 1913.

sentation of a mock sun. Another triptych in a Dutch private collection, one with a Crucifixion in Cologne Museum (No. 492), and a Virgin with St. Bernard in the Archbishop's Gallery at Utrecht are also given to him. Friedländer finds him as good an artist as his Dutch contemporaries, but save as a portraitist he fails to stir in me the faintest quiver of emotional response.

There are Crucifixion triptychs at Aix-la-Chapelle and Turin (No. 306) which give their names to two more painters of this date. The Turin picture is by the same hand as a Crucifixion at Frankfurt (No. 106), another in tempera on linen at Lille, and perhaps one in the Brussels Gallery (No. 126). It has been wrongly attributed to Cornelis Engebrechtsen—a name commonly written under anonymous pictures of this kind and period when they are not given to Jacob van Oostsanen. I find the Turin artist preferable to him of the Brownlow triptych. He is less exuberantly multitudinous, and his individual figures, especially those of children, are good. There is an excellent group of two boys and two dogs at the base of the Turin Crucifixion, which proves how well he was suited to treat genre scenes. That, in fact, was the direction in which the Dutch nature was capable of successful artistic expression, that and portraiture and landscape. I doubt whether artists left to themselves would have painted these abominable Crucifixions; but as a German writer describes one of them as "genial," it may be that even to-day there are people somewhere who can find pleasure in them. At all events, in the brutal late Middle Age patrons liked them and painters had to produce them. It took the genius of a Bruegel and generations of landscape artists to attract public taste toward subjects pleasanter than the old round of sacred horrors and evaporated traditions.

Having thus swept these minor Dutchmen out of the way, we can deal with three contemporary painters, not all of equal merit, but definite personalities known to us by their proper names and by a considerable body of work. I refer to Jan Mostaert of Haarlem, Cornelis Engebrechtsen of Leyden, and Jacob van Oostsanen of Amsterdam. As the art of Mostaert does not lead on like that of the others to the work of Lucas van Leyden, it will be best to deal with him first. If the reader desires full information as to the grounds on which the name of Jan Mostaert, having at one time

been affixed to the group of pictures now attributed to Isenbrant, was transferred to another group, he should refer to G. Glück's article in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* (1896, p. 265) and his further remarks in a paper contributed to the *Beiträge F. Wickhoff gewidmet* (Vienna, 1903, p. 64); or he can find the proposition sufficiently discussed in Sander Pierron's book *Les Mostaert* (Brussels, 1912). Suffice it here briefly to state that what is known of Mostaert's life or recorded about his paintings has been found in tolerable agreement with the internal evidence provided by the pictures now to be discussed. The demonstration of this agreement as far as it goes is tedious, and being easily accessible need not here be repeated. It is plausible, but not entirely convincing.

The date of Jan Mostaert's birth is not recorded. The first we hear of him is that he was at work as a painter at Haarlem in 1500. He was, therefore, probably born between 1470 and 1475, doubtless at Haarlem and of a good family, as Van Mander records, but the reader will do well not to put too much faith in the legend of his descent from an ennobled Crusader, though few West Europeans now alive can have wholly escaped such ancestry. It is asserted, and generally believed, that Mostaert served as Court-painter to Margaret of Austria during eighteen years, but old account books and inventories shed no light upon this appointment, though they might be expected to do so. A single entry recording the presentation by him to Margaret of a portrait of her late husband gives no indication of his occupying or having occupied an official position.[1] We have only Van Mander's word to go by. Accepting that, we may estimate the date of his entry into the Regent's service at about 1503 and of his retirement 1521. It is recorded of him that he had a good presence and courtly manners, gifts which are not infallible signals of high artistic endowment. As the Princess employed Jacopo de' Barbari, Bernard van Orley, and perhaps Jan Mostaert for her art-work in a day when Quentin Massys and other great artists were active in her dominions, and as she evidently preferred their work to Dürer's, her patronage

[1] He is simply described as "A painter who has presented to my Lady a picture of our late Lord of Savoy done from the life, named Jehan Masturd," and this in 1523, two years after his supposed retirement after eighteen years of service with her. The prince died in 1504, the latest date for the picture.

adds nothing to an artist's reputation, but rather detracts from it. Mostaert appears to have settled in Haarlem in honourable conditions after his retreat from court, if to court he went. It is only at Haarlem that he is recorded. In 1549 he obtained leave from the municipal authorities to absent himself from home for eighteen months in order that he might paint the high altar-piece for the church at Hoorn. He died at Haarlem in 1556.

It is tantalizing not to be able to accept for Mostaert, as attributed by Cohen and Glück, a delightful half-length Holy Family in a Room. The picture is in the Cologne Gallery (No. 486), and is one of the small surviving number of really delightful early Dutch works, painted at the very end of the fifteenth century, which retain the pure mediæval spirit expressed with the technique developed by the Van Eyck school. We may group it (though not as by the same hand) with the Dresden Holy Family and the less excellent Turin Madonna, examples of a fleeting moment of art-production when the light of the Van Eycks gave a last bright flicker in the socket before its final extinction. In the Cologne picture we look once again into a mediæval interior simply furnished in perfect taste, with its bit of carving on the arm of a chair, its cushion heraldically embroidered, its little jewel-case and single book upon a shelf, its *dinanderie* on the credence, its earthenware table-service, and the soundly framed oak door opened behind—everything solid, simple, and good of its kind; no exaggeration, no flummery, no flourishes, and the people and their costumes to match. How different from the approaching Mannerism of Antwerp and the commercial complexities of the days so near at hand!

A genuine picture by Mostaert of little later date is the version of the ancestors of the Virgin, or Stem of Jesse, in the Stroganoff Collection at Rome. It caused the critics a lot of trouble till Friedländer justly pointed out the true author. It is indifferently composed, the figures patched about on branches as the fruit of Jesse's tree, forming a confused assembly strung together in the air and not logically supported. The individual figures are well enough, varied in type, pose, and costume, with strange turbaned head-coverings. An affiliation with the style of Geertgen is so obvious that the former attribution of the picture to him needs

little apology. What is visible of the foreground shows Mostaert as much interested in garden details as were his immediate Haarlem predecessors.

Dependence upon Geertgen is openly proclaimed in another relatively early work, the Deposition triptych at Amsterdam (No. 1675), which is dated 1507. The penultimate figure of the date is illegible, but hardly doubtful. The main group of figures on the central panel is closely imitated from Geertgen's picture at Vienna, with the omission of a portrait-attendant just behind, whom Mostaert had no reason to repeat. He may have known who the man was ; I wish we did. The landscape is altered, and much for the worse. The wings with kneeling donors and their saints give an early instance of the painter's style in portraiture.

It is probable that the well-known altar-piece at Brussels, temporarily called of Oultremont from its passing owner, but better to be designated after its Haarlem donor, Albert van Adrichen (ob. 1510), was painted a year or two before the Amsterdam triptych. The main panel depicts the Descent from the Cross. Geertgen influences may be traced in it, but Mostaert was not here dependent on him or on any other painter. The design was inspired by contemporary sculpture in wood. Like Roger's picture of the same subject, this is really a representation on the flat of a group of painted sculpture framed within a gilded niche. It is mediæval in feeling, the figures representative, the event not thought of as actually happening and beheld, but rather as symbolically constructed. Each figure is thoroughly studied in every part and painted with extreme care. The rising artist was obviously determined to make a success with what may have been his first important commission. The insides of the wings are rather more pictorial, and the figures are closely crowded. The youth and a boy who turn their backs on us in the Ecce Homo are indeed admirably drawn. Overhead, on the other wing, we have festoon-holding cherubs borrowed indirectly from Memling. The donor kneels on the outside of the wings in the foreground of a Christ bearing the Cross, rather a stern and rigid portrait, painted with decision and some insight. St. Catherine, standing behind, has a turned-back sleeve lined with a ribbed material of a kind we often meet with worn by the Magdalens of Jacob van Oostsanen. The

colouring is very brilliant, in effect a mosaic of brightly contrasting patches. If the picture still glows and sparkles, how it must have flared when it was new! It may well have produced an excellent effect above the altar of a church as the centre of a vestmented ceremonial.

The head of Christ in this Crowning with Thorns is repeated with little change on a half-length panel, which was in the Willett Collection, and other allied versions.[1] It is curious to note an accidental approximation in treatment between these and a corresponding group of pictures of the same subject by Solario. Direct imitation by one of these painters of the other can hardly be postulated.

A little picture, of which there are two differing versions, one in the National Gallery (No. 1,080), the other at Dijon, offers a curious example of the illogical mediæval mind. It depicts the Head of John the Baptist on a charger mourned over by a fluttering flock of little angels and cherubs. The saint's friends on earth might have mourned over it, but why the denizens of heaven, with whom *ex hypothesi* his beatified soul was triumphantly at rest, should come to earth to weep over his head is not easy to understand. Both pictures are delicately and decoratively painted. St. John's Heads were popular in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. There was a manufacture of them for export among the Alablasterers of Nottingham, and many examples survive. Lombard painters (Solario again) produced them, but only Mostaert, I believe, ever surrounded the head with mourning cherubs.

A Last Judgment triptych in the Wesendonck Collection at Bonn,[2] painted about 1510, clearly indicates Mostaert's limitations. The gigantic drama on which the imagination of Christendom had dwelt for upwards of a thousand years could scarcely be more feebly represented. A confused and concentrated group of the Heavenly Host overhead and a few scurrying figures in the background do duty for the fate of all the generations of mankind and all the powers of triumphant Heaven and defeated Hell! They form an insignificant background to the kneeling figures of the Van

[1] At Verona (382), Budapest (1,073), Burgos, and in the Lanfranconi sale (1895, No. 46), Van Stolk (? = Willett's), and Stchoukine (Moscow) Collections.

[2] Düsseldorf Exhibition (1904), No. 200.

Alkemade donors and their children who are the real subjects of the picture and are well and carefully portrayed. The extensive landscape is more interesting than the events occurring in it. It appears to depict a valley in a limestone district, and lends some support to the suggestion that the painter had visited Savoy in the suite of his possible patroness, Margaret of Austria. Another Last Judgment at Copenhagen, painted, say, half a dozen years later, spreads and increases the number of figures aloft without adding to the wonder, and makes the little tribe of the resurrected somewhat more prominent and agitated, but again the landscape and the portraits arrest and steadily maintain our attention, and the great event is only a disturbing adjunct. The kneeling donors are unusually stately, and have had their long robes carefully arranged for them before the curtain went up.

It is only necessary to mention the pair of wings with donors in the Brussels Gallery (painted about 1520) for the sake of the background incidents. The tops of the panels have been cut off, and with them the heavenly apparitions beheld in the one case by the Sibyl and Augustus, in the other by St. Paul on his way to Damascus. The landscapes are here more extensive, with faint hills in the far distance and impossible rocks nearer at hand, but not like Patinir's. The groups of active little figures are well drawn and composed, as usually with the Dutch. Why Mostaert was so fond of introducing the Sibyl and Augustus is unexplained. Pierron cites half a dozen examples from his backgrounds.

Thus far Mostaert has shown himself a purely Gothic painter, adhering in forms and traditions to the old school, but in his Adoration of the Magi at Amsterdam (No. 1,674), painted about 1520, he introduces into his foreground, evidently under the influence of Jacob van Oostsanen, some architectural features of partly Renaissance type, ill-understood and with decorative details foreign to the style. It is an excellent picture, with a nice though rather globe-headed Virgin and some admirably grave and reverent kings, notably him on the right with a collar of roses and links—an obvious portrait. A talkative middle-aged man behind may possibly be the artist himself. The background is animated with many little figures near the foot of a battlemented staircase and others further away. The colours are well chosen and massed

after the fashion of a stained glass window. All the work is done with old-fashioned precision.

Little of Mostaert's work produced after 1520 has come down to us. He is supposed to have been busily employed for another thirty-five years, but we are asked to assume that what he made has perished or remains unidentified. Haarlem was destroyed by fire in 1576, and many of the artist's later pictures may have fallen a prey to the flames. Altar-pieces are likely to have been ruined by image-breakers in the Reformation troubles. In the J. G. Johnson Collection is a Crucifixion which Friedländer attributes to Mostaert at the guessed date of about 1530. If that date is correct, rarity endows the picture with an importance which its intrinsic merit could not command. It manifests Mostaert directly or at second-hand under the influence of Massys and the Antwerp School. He had to throw his mourning angels into violent agitation and crowd figures together about the cross, all gesticulating at once. The mountain background is imaginatively conceived and the picture has merit, but it lacks the old-world charm of earlier days and fails to replace it by frankly modern humanity.

The reader who wishes to acquaint himself with every one of the master's pictures will find a list of them in Friedländer's book. Enough have been cited to show the character of his religious art. There remains, however, one remarkable landscape which cannot be passed over. It is in the Van Stolk Collection at Haarlem, and there is a small but good coloured reproduction of it in the published catalogue (No. 408). Van Mander tells us that Mostaert left unfinished a West Indian landscape. This can scarcely be it, for it is not unfinished, but it is a work of like character. It represents a small company of European invaders marching under the banner of Burgundy round the base of some impossible rocks, supporting a rude hut which can only be reached by ladders. A larger band of naked savages come running forward to the attack, and others cast down stones from the rock. The leaders of the band are being overthrown or turning in flight. Cows and sheep watch the contest with indifference. Sea spreads away into the distance on the one side; mountains rise on the other. There is nothing exotic about the landscape, but it makes a pleasing picture, and the running crowd of little figures was a subject to Mostaert's taste. The pic-

ture gives rise to rather a curious psychological problem. What was the attitude of mind of an early sixteenth-century Dutchman who went to a local painter and ordered of him a West Indian landscape? Was it like that of the rich peasant who asked for a picture of his dead father from a painter who had never seen him, and when he received it said, "So that is my dear father; but ah, how changed!" It is hard to put ourselves at the point of view of people who had not begun to regard landscape as the portraiture of nature, but thought of it only as a decorative or emblematic frame for figures. During the sixteenth century the change in point of view was accomplished, but the soil of Holland had to become infinitely precious to its people for the price paid in the blood of their sons that emancipated it, before the actual landscape about their homes was found a worthy subject for pictorial treatment.

As a portrait-painter Mostaert reached the highest level of his artistic achievement. The reader's attention must therefore be directed in conclusion to a few typical examples. If, as is recorded, Mostaert painted from the life a portrait of Margaret's husband, Philibert of Savoy, that must have happened before his death in 1504. The original has disappeared; there is a copy of it at Madrid, called a portrait of Philip the Fair. Neither this nor the engravings of two lost portraits of Philip the Fair (ob. 1506) enable us to form a very clear opinion about his early style. His earliest extant portrait is perhaps the bust of a nameless individual at Copenhagen, whose prominent coat-of-arms hanging on a tree has not yet been made to yield his identity. It is hard to believe that anyone can have had a head like that, bald as an egg and egg-shaped, with eyes very high up, nose very long, chin very double, huge oblong cheeks, and ears as it were gummed on along the edge of them; but Mostaert cannot be held responsible for the work of the man's parents. In the background, before his house-door, the Sibyl and Augustus behold a, to us invisible, Virgin and Child. The painting is well characterized, and as straightforward as in a Van Eyck. It is honest without distinction, the only trace of breeding visible being in the outline of a remote greyhound. In the Berlin Museum (No. 59) is the likeness of a dry and severe individual whose initial was A (so his buttons inform

us), and who wore a medallion of the Annunciation in his cap. Though painted as late as about 1515, it is work of the old school, with plain background, head in three-quarters to the right, fur-trimmed coat thrown open, hands in repose on a cushion, the left firmly gripping a pair of gloves as though afraid someone would try to snatch them away. No one will ever snatch anything without a struggle from this grim dictatorial person. Perhaps the painter did not see the best of him, but what he saw he very efficiently set down. About the same date he painted a likeness of Joost van Bronckhorst, the young lord of Bleyswyck, which was in the Hainauer Collection, a well-dressed and rather stolid youth with an unpleasing mouth and a fashionable hat. This time the background is decoratively filled with landscape, which does not fall away behind the figure very well. I think Mostaert liked painting the young man's clothes, and especially his embroidered collar, better than his face. More interesting is the Louvre portrait of John van Wassenaer, burgrave of Leyden and governor of Friesland, who was made a knight of the Golden Fleece in 1516, and probably sat to Mostaert in that same year on the occasion of the holding of a Chapter of the Order in the Church of St. Bavon at Haarlem, where his heraldically identified stall may still be seen. The great scar on his cheek [1] is the memorial of an honourable wound received by him in 1509 at the siege of Pavia. The face is again in absolute repose, and so are the gloved hands. The background is a landscape with David and Abigail, some camels and an ass in it. The beasts might bear reference to St. Jerome, but I see no lion. The figure this time is better relieved against the distance. The portrait of Van Wassenaer's wife, Josine, daughter of John van Egmont, is in the Würzburg Library, but it is not a pendant to the preceding. The landscape is more detailed and further extending, being looked down upon from a height, as seldom with Mostaert. This is one of the rare early Northern portraits depicting an obviously well-bred lady, gentle, refined, patient, and dutiful, but rather sad. She wears a necklace of roses and links and a beautiful pendant, and her costume is rich but not ostentatious.

[1] More emphatically marked in a copy which belonged to the Van Ittersums, and was sold by auction at Amsterdam (May 14, 1912, No. 12). The name of the subject is fully inscribed on it.

The poor lady was not destined long to live. Her husband was to die of wounds in 1523, and she in the same year, we know not how. We have no portrait of her father, but one of Charles van Egmont, Duke of Guelderland, a poor copy of a lost original by Mostaert.[1]

Two excellent portraits painted about 1520 may be cited as examples of the artist's mature style. They are in the Galleries at Brussels (No. 538) and Liverpool respectively. The names of the men depicted are unknown. In both the background is unusually elaborate. The former must have been painted about the same time as the Amsterdam Magi. It introduces architectural detail of similar character, and a small individual reaching out of a window not unlike the man behind the Magi who may be the painter himself. Here he is yet more energetically gesticulating, as well he may, for he sees in the sky the enthroned Virgin surrounded by fluttering cherubs whom the Sibyl in the courtyard below is showing to Augustus and his suite. The great house has an Oriental appearance with its flat roof and roof-garden, a formally clipped tree standing out on the top against the sky. With this background and a landscape full of detail, the half-length gentleman of the portrait has hard work to retain much of a spectator's attention. His gloved hands hold a cherry and rest on a cushion embroidered with a lion passant, which some herald might interpret for us. He wears one of those 1520 caps with the lappets upheld by a ribbon tied above the forehead, and he has a nice fur-lined cloak and all things proper for a nobleman. Best of all, his face is interesting—serious, refined, perhaps a little ascetic. He would have looked well as a bishop, but would not have believed all he was told, though in a dangerous day he would probably have kept his own counsel. The Liverpool gentleman is much younger and in character simpler. The panel formed part of a diptych, for the gloved hands this time are joined in prayer, though there is no aspect of devotion about the face. None was expected in the portrait-halves of mediæval diptychs. The late Middle Age took its devotions as it did its dinner, in a matter-of-fact way. The costume closely repeats that at Brussels; in fact, it looks as though the young man had borrowed his elder's clothes. A family like-

[1] Golden Fleece Exhibition (1907); sold at Muller's, May 14, 1912 (No. 141).

ness may be suspected between them, but the critic who thought them the same man at different periods of his life was a poor physiognomist. They might possibly be father and son. The younger was a keen huntsman, or his name was Hubert, for he has had the Hunting of St. Hubert painted in the background, rather a gay scene. Mostaert painted a separate picture of that subject in a landscape which adorned the Prinsenhof at Haarlem till after the middle of the eighteenth century. It may be represented by a picture at Munich.

Not much later than these is a portrait of a man which was in the Hoech Collection (Sale, 1892). For once he does not wear gloves; his cloak is of the same style as the preceding, and his hat of the fashionable type. The figure here is on a larger relative scale, and the landscape correspondingly less important. It is of an unusual type for the Netherlands—hills on one side drooping to low headlands jutting out into a lagoon on the other—a Dürer type. The head is supreme over the figure and the figure over the background, statements which would not be true of any earlier portrait by Mostaert. The man portrayed is not an interesting personality—a material, self-indulgent, good-natured man perhaps, but not one to set the world on fire or form the efficient centre of even a small human society.

In the Begijnhof at Amsterdam is a portrait of the preacher Nicholas Cannius, dated 1534.[1] The face is grave and ill-shaven, the nose very large. "Nasum habet longum," wrote Erasmus of this particular organ. The eyes are small, the hair dark, the hands ill-drawn, the landscape hard. The style is that of Mostaert, but not the execution. It seems to be the work of an Amsterdam follower, to whom is also ascribed another portrait dated 1545 in the Haarlem Museum (No. 343). If these be excluded,[2] all known portraits by Mostaert might have been painted at Haarlem, except those of the two princes, which date before 1506. His sitters were evidently persons in high life who would have been at court from time to time, but they might equally have had frequent occasion

[1] Reproduced in W. Martin's *Altholländische Malerei*, ii.

[2] Other portraits by Mostaert are in the Depot of the Berlin Gallery, and one that passed through Lepke's sale-room. There is also at Copenhagen a copy by him of an earlier portrait of Jacquelin de Bavière, perhaps by Van Eyck.

to visit Haarlem, a local centre of government. Their likenesses afford no proof that Mostaert, if the painter was indeed he, occupied an official court position at any time after the year 1506, or indeed at all. The fact that Jan Mostaert certainly lived till 1556, while the group of pictures now attributed to him were all painted before 1522, or at very latest 1530, leaves on my mind an uncomfortable suspicion that the whole truth has not yet been discovered. Perhaps the painter of all these pictures may not have been Jan Mostaert after all.

CHAPTER XXX

CORNELIS ENGEBRECHTSEN AND JACOB VAN OOSTSANEN

Cornelis Engebrechtsen, who may be regarded as the first prominent painter of the Leyden School, was born in that town in 1468, and was thus a younger contemporary of Gerard David and the predecessor by some years of Jacob van Oostsanen. In some of David's pictures a common factor can be discovered linking the origins of the style of the two men. Thus, if the reader will compare Engebrechtsen's Christ with Prophets and Saints which is in the Flersheim Collection with David's Christ at Dublin he will find conspicuous points of resemblance. The Christ in both is of the Dutch type, the type employed by the Master of Alkmaar, but by David and Cornelis more solidly modelled and more fully realized in a human sense. Our artist came of a good family, as is proved by the fact that from 1499 to 1519 he was on the list of Leyden Arquebusiers, a company to which only members of the upper class of the town were admitted. Nothing is known about his education, and as we possess no identified body of Leyden paintings done before his time we have no means of learning whether his master can have been of the locality. Hugo Jacobsz, Lucas van Leyden's father, was a good artist there resident in 1480, and probably earlier. Cornelis might have been his pupil. Haarlem was not far away, where Geertgen was leaving so strong a mark when Engebrechtsen was young, but though the latter's Leyden Crucifixion of about 1510 shows a school affiliation to such pictures as the Dutch Crucifixions at Cologne and in the Glitza Collection, a direct dependence is not to be observed.

Internal evidence suggests that Cornelis was impregnated with Antwerp traditions at an early stage of his career. The temptation is strong to identify him with that Cornelis of Holland whose name appears in the books of the Antwerp Guild in 1492; this

identification, however, is far from proved. It is curious that he did not graduate in the Leyden Guild till as late as 1514, in the same year as his brilliant pupil, Lucas van Leyden, and some years after he had supplied to the neighbouring Nunnery of Marienpoel the great Crucifixion triptych (of about 1510) now preserved with honour in the Leyden Laekenhal.

Though upward of thirty pictures are now with a general consensus of agreement ascribed to Engebrechtsen—the list will be found in Thieme's *Lexicon*—little has been done to arrange them in chronological order or to trace the lines of the painter's development. One gets, moreover, from an examination of the whole group assigned to him, the uncomfortable impression that it is not entirely homogeneous. In the present study I have accepted in the main the conclusions of my predecessors, though in several instances that acceptance is half-hearted.

At Antwerp (No. 352) is a painful picture of Christ seated by the Cross awaiting Crucifixion. It was painted for a nun of Marienpoel Abbey, near Leyden, an institution for which in after years Engebrechtsen was several times employed. It must be one of his earliest pictures and shows him equipped by purely local teaching. For the donoress, St. Augustin, and the Maries the young artist had ample precedent, but he had to design the executioners himself, evidently without help from models, and he made rather a sorry business of it. The man drilling a hole may be a dim echo of a well-known figure by Dürer. The drawing of all three figures is bad, and the proportion of heads to bodies and of other parts to one another is casual. The Descent from the Cross, which is or was in Kleinberger's hands,[1] is cited as an early work. A considerable interval must separate it from the preceding. Here the artist is in possession of more ample resources, and if he has not been studying in some art-centre of the South Netherlands he must have had plentiful opportunity of examining works of the Southern School. The composition is not wholly traditional, though necessarily on traditional lines. An Antwerp Magdalen kneels in the foreground, and the fashion of her sleeves indicates a date not long

[1] Reproduced in *Les Arts*, 1912, p. 146, and *Onze Kunst*, December 1913. I am unable to illustrate it, as my letter to Messrs. Kleinberger requesting permission so to do never received any answer from them.

before 1510. Both she and St. Barbara, with the peacock feather, are graceful and expensively dressed figures; Barbara's sleeves are lined with that ribbed material so often introduced by Jacob van Oostsanen. The picture is painted with a certain fluid ease, notable particularly in the rendering of tree foliage.

The meeting of Abraham and a feeble Melchisedec, in the Auspitz Collection, includes the figure of a man on horseback "lifted"—horse, man, and armour—from Burgkmair's St. George woodcut (B. 28) of 1508, which fixes an upper limit for the picture's date. It is immature work, the composition crowded and confused. The pose of the page standing near the said horseman has been correctly identified as borrowed from a figure in Ouwater's Lazarus, and the men on the right are not, I suspect, wholly of our artist's invention. He was in the striving stage, reaching out for help in all directions, and ambitiously struggling with a composition too elaborate for his powers. A little vista of river-bank where cargo is lying about does not suffice to dissipate the sense of confinement produced by the huddled mass of men, rocks, tents, and mountains which overcrowds more than half the panel.

The great altar-piece now at Leyden was painted by Engebrechtsen in the years surrounding 1510 for the Regent of Marienpoel Nunnery and other donors connected with that convent. It is a work deservedly prized and shows the master at length equipped. The main panel depicts the Crucifixion, flanked on the wings by the Brazen Serpent and Abraham's Sacrifice. On the outsides are painful incidents immediately preceding the nailing of Christ to the Cross. One of them repeats the subject of the early picture above described, but with a developed power of which the former gave little promise. The same elements are there, but how differently arranged and realized! Let the reader make the comparison for himself. The artist has devoted equal attention to the composition of all five panels, and has relegated the donors to that unusual Northern feature, a predella, where, between them, the Tree of Life (of which, according to the legend, the Cross was fashioned) is seen growing out of the body of Adam. The story goes that the angel watching the gates of Paradise gave seeds of the tree to Seth, who planted them in the corpse of his father. The portraits are admirable and make us regret that so few, if any,

formal portraits by Cornelis have survived, or, at least, been recognized.[1]

In the Crucifixion the form of the panel so raises the crucified figure into a lobe aloft that the attendant personages below attract the spectator's main attention. The landscape is not piled up as high as usual with Dutch painters of the day, and the groups, arranged circle-wise with a gap in the centre, open a vista to the tree-surrounded city in the background, while elevated rocks on either side support subsidiary figures and enframe the main assemblage. It is a clever and original treatment. Some of the chief figures, notably a man on the right who turns his back on us, are admirably drawn. The heads are remarkable and painted with great care. The Maries wear fine Antwerp clothes—a necessity for any up-to-date painter. The wing compositions are piled up, incident above incident. They are wrought out with equal pains and contain figures among the best ever produced by Cornelis.

A dog in the foreground of the Crucifixion is borrowed from Dürer's St. Eustace, and I believe that Beets has traced other Dürer elements in the work. A more important instance of borrowing from the great Nuremberg master is the Mordecai and Haman in the Northbrook Collection. An engraving of the same subject by Lucas van Leyden, dated 1515, was approximately contemporary, and both laid under contribution Dürer's engraving of the Knight and Death of 1513. Engebrechtsen intended his architectural background to be of a fashionable Renaissance character, but did not draw it well; moreover, the head of the rider is ill-proportioned and ill-foreshortened. The mass of feathers disturbs the balance, notwithstanding the exaggerated size of the helmet, and the picture, though gaily and decoratively painted, contains many imperfections. It falls below the Leyden Crucifixion in technical merit.

Van Mander preserves record of a triptych in which the central panel contained an Apocalyptic scene—the Mystical Lamb opening the Book with Seven Seals—and he names the donors. The central panel has disappeared, but the wings survive in the Limburg-Stirum Collection at Noordwijk. A Last Judgment apparently of striking character, to judge from a very small reproduction, is at Detroit,

[1] At Nuremberg (No. 40) is a portrait of a man attributed to him.

and is attributed by Bredius to Cornelis, but this can hardly be the lost central panel. The architecture on the wings at Noordwijk is fantastic, with cherubs aloft on cornices, but if the main forms are trabeated the details are Gothic. The strong parallel curves of the donoresses' cloaks will be noted as an emphatic and intended element of the design. Beets attributes this picture to a date soon after 1515 and not, as was previously asserted, to about 1509.

We may here, perhaps, introduce a Crucifixion from the Kaufmann Collection which differs widely in style from the general run of Engebrechtsen's works and, if really by him, gives further evidence of Antwerp study, the Magdalen at the foot of the Cross being borrowed from Quentin Massys. Some of the attendant saints are of Bruges character. The women have gone to Antwerp for their head-dresses and costumes, but the landscape is in the best manner of our artist. A similar picture with fewer saints is at Amsterdam (No. 905); Friedländer calls it one of the artist's best works. Another Crucifixion in the Burckhardt Collection at Basle is fixed to this period (about 1515) by the appearance of the Mordecai again, though now in a different character, riding away in the background. This picture also varies rather markedly from such thoroughly authentic works as the two great Leyden altar-pieces, and at the same time does not sensibly approximate to the Kaufmann Crucifixion. The drawing is indifferent. Many of the faces are badly foreshortened and in the nature of caricatures; figures are attenuated. The head-dresses of the women are obtrusively decorated. Allowance must be made for the unfortunate enterprise of some restorer who faked together into a single panel the centre and wings of what was designed as a triptych. As a consequence, the grouping appears worse than in fact it is. So radical a change of artistic ideal implies the intrusion of some powerful influence, which can be none other than that of Antwerp Mannerism, but Cornelis seems only to have yielded to it during a passing phase. Some trace of Mannerism is likewise visible in the pompous strut[1] of Abraham in the picture where, with mean

[1] Compare the similar Manneristic pose of two Passion saints on wings which were in the Fétis sale (1909), No. 6, and sold again at Lepke's (April 1911), No. 79. They were, of course, attributed to Bles, but are closely related to Engebrechtsen. Such a strutting leg will be found on the Magi in Buckingham Palace, attributed by Hulin to Goswin.

cowardice, he is leading Hagar and Ishmael out into the wilderness to perish or not, as the gods might arrange. That belonged to the late Dr. Lippmann and is an attractive work. The figures are projected against a decorative background of buildings and trees, and a touch of humour is added to the middle distance where Ishmael gives the prostrate Isaac a sound hiding.

To a slightly later period we may perhaps attribute the Amsterdam Christ in the House of Simon (No. 905a), to which the fine and dignified Crucifixion at New York is linked by the figure of St. Margaret, drawn from the same model as a woman in the former. Both are examples of the painter's mature style when he had shaken himself free of Mannerism. The New York picture is the most dignified and impressive representation of the great Christian tragedy that has come down to us from this period and school. The figures are few in number, only the three crucified with the Virgin and St. John, if the donors and their saints are left out of account. The silhouette of the Virgin is expressive, and St. John is a new and independent creation. The design is admirable throughout, spacious, with an aspect of simplicity and an attained harmony of mass and line exceedingly rare at this period in the North. It was a Dutch habit to bring the donors well to the front and make their portraits prominent. They and their stools, instead of being modestly placed in corners or on wings, are frequently, especially by Mostaert, brought almost to the centre of the composition, so that man and wife seem to be praying to one another, while the sacred event of their supposed contemplation appears as a relatively insignificant background incident.[1] Engebrechtsen has here been bound by local tradition to put his donors in the place they perhaps considered their right, but with great skill he has nevertheless subordinated them so that though they are most in the foreground they are the last figures on which the eye rests.

We thus arrive at Cornelis' second great triptych at Leyden, which was painted about 1520, likewise for the Marienpoel Convent. The subject of the central panel is a Mourning over the Body of Christ, and again the artist has devoted all his powers to the attainment of the best result possible to him. The composition is not

[1] A typical example of this arrangement may be seen in a St. Anne with donors of the Van Zuylen family, exhibited at Utrecht in 1894 (No. 314).

overcrowded; the female figures, perhaps because they were intended for the contemplation of nuns, are not overdressed. Some unnatural fluttering of drapery is a Manneristic tradition. Emotion is fairly well expressed, but the concentrated and silent passion of the New York picture is absent. The inter-relation of individuals to one another is logical. If one speaks another listens, as is by no means always the case in subjects of this kind. The saints and donors on the wings are the more effective for their simplicity of pose and slight tendency to archaism. The long sweeping curve of the lady's hood cannot fail to remind us of similar forms on the Noordwijk wings. The finest part of the whole is the outside of the shutters, which bear four monumental figures of female saints painted almost in monochrome, one of Engebrechtsen's best designs. Agatha is best, though all are good. The faces are interesting, even beautiful; the bearing is dignified, without pretence or self-consciousness; the few enriched details are in good taste, and the large curves and planes of the drapery content an eye tired with the fussy multitudinousness of the usual pretentious altar-piece of the day. If this simplification, which we have watched proceeding, resulted from the reaction of Lucas van Leyden upon his master, Engebrechtsen had much to thank him for.

To the same phase belong a pair of pleasing roundels—one at Budapest, the other in the Edmond de Rothschild Collection. Both contain two half-length figures of Saints: St. John the Evangelist and St. Mary Magdalen on one, SS. Valerius and Cecilia on the other. They are treated almost like contemporary portraits, with the exception of the very traditional John. The Magdalen may have been taken from the model used by Jacob van Oostsanen for St. Barbara. It looks as if the artist had chosen the best-looking models he could find. He has painted them with breadth and simplicity, and skilfully fitted them into the space at his disposal.

Yet another Crucifixion triptych is in the Archiepiscopal Museum at Utrecht. It is ascribed to about 1525, and thus belongs to Engebrechtsen's last period. It shows a great falling off in emotional appeal and a return to the commonplace. St. Cecilia of the roundels reappears as one of the Maries. The Magdalen

huddles herself awkwardly about the stem of the Cross. Christ on the left wing is badly drawn, and on the right, newly risen, lacks all dignity and seems to be feebly imitated from an anæmic print by Jacopo de' Barbari. A lot of trouble has been given to the decoration of the frame, and the result is not worth it. The roundels show the direction in which Engebrechtsen might have advanced. They are wholly modern in spirit, unconcerned with religious emotion or the visions of saints. They are far from being the mere equivalent of photographic transcripts of nature. They express that modern interest and delight in actual human life which was to replace the mediæval dream-world as subject for artistic treatment.

From one artist after another in this transition period we learn the same lesson. Their work shows vitality when it is devoted to portraiture or the emotional representation of living people, their homes, their surroundings, even their revels. Such were the subjects artists would have tended to treat if left to themselves, but painters, like other craftsmen, work for employers and must paint what is required of them. The well-to-do folk able to pay are likely in any period of transition to be those who have prospered under the old régime, who occupy posts in relation to it, who are therefore imbued with old-fashioned ideas, and that the more strongly because their material interests are bound up with them. Though, however, they cling to an old form of faith by force of will, the fire has gone out of it even for them and has been replaced by formalism. Formalism is the negation of art. That is why these horrible Crucifixions, Passion-scenes, and the like are so wearisome. They were painted to order by artists who would sooner have been differently employed, and the time and thought devoted to them, so far from increasing the artist's powers, were, in fact, drying up the fountain of his imagination.

Engebrechtsen, one of whose sons was a glass-painter, and who lived at a time when small painted windows were becoming popular as house decoration in the Netherlands, may be expected to have designed some such works. The Berlin Art-Industries Museum claims to possess examples referable to him.[1] Drawings of circular form of this date are generally designs for painted glass

[1] Nos. 109, 110. See H. Schwaitz, *Die Glasgemalde d. Kgwb. Mus.*

medallions. One such by our master was sold at Muller's (June 1912). Its uncommon subject is described as "a General falling on his sword in the presence of his judges." It is a washed monochrome outlined in pen-and-ink and touched with white, an example of a technique similarly employed by Lucas van Leyden in his youth.

Engebrechtsen was not merely a good painter himself, but was important as a teacher. His sons, Cornelis (b. 1493, ob. 1544) and Lucas (b. 1495, ob. 1552), were his pupils. A third son, Peter, the glass-painter, seems to have learned from someone else. Dülberg and Beets attribute to him drawings (at Berlin, Amsterdam, and in Coll. Rodriguez) and glass-paintings, signed "P. C." and dated between 1517 and 1522. One such glass-painting is in the Louvre.[1] Engebrechtsen also taught Aert Claesz (called Aertgen van Leyden)[2] and strongly influenced, if he did not actually teach, the Cologne Master of St. Severin and the Master of Cappenburg, but his most eminent pupil was Lucas van Leyden. We shall conclude our study of the Dutch painters with an examination of the work of the last named; but before undertaking that adventure we must attend to the claims of another Dutch artist of less eminence who occupied a position of some importance in the history of a great art-centre.

Jacob Corneliszoon of Oostsanen was called Jacob of Amsterdam at Antwerp. He signed with the initials "I. A." and a mark between them like an inverted W with a V interlaced. This signature was also employed by his son, Dirk Jacobszoon, and his nephew, Cornelis Buys. He was a member of that artist family, the Buys, to whom we have already referred. They appear to have been an Alkmaar stock, but Jacob's father, Cornelis, lived at Oostsanen and Jacob himself was born there. His brother Cornelis lived and painted at Alkmaar, and so did Cornelis' son and grandson, who bore the same Christian name. Jacob settled at Amsterdam, and was followed there by his two sons, Cornelis and Dirk. Neither he nor they seem to have used the surname

[1] See *Oud-Holland*, 1899, p. 66, and *Bull. v. d. Nederl. Oudheidk. Bond*, 1909, p. 10, and 1911, p. 246.

[2] On two drawings attributable to this master, see C. Dodgson in the *Burlington Magazine*, January 1921, p. 25 seq.

Buys.[1] In the present chapter I shall call him Jacob van Oostsanen. The date of his birth is not recorded, but his portrait painted in 1533, the year of his death, shows a man not much, if at all, over 50 years of age, so that we may put the date of his birth soon after 1480. He was thus a dozen years younger than Engebrechtsen. Some 120 woodcuts, marked with his signature or otherwise identifiable, have long been known; the artist's true name was only attached to them less than forty years ago, and the identification of the respectable list of paintings now with some confidence attributed to him has been gradually accomplished by the co-operation of many observers. A list will be found in Thieme's *Lexicon* and the usual books of reference. No attempt will be made in the present chapter to notice more than are needed to exemplify his powers and the course of his development.

His earliest dated picture is the *Noli me tangere* at Cassel of 1507, and his earliest dated woodcut is of the same year. We know nothing of his upbringing or pupilage; as far as dates are concerned he might have been Engebrechtsen's pupil. The Cassel picture is in spirit thoroughly Gothic, but in details obviously of its day. The Magdalen in her rich attire proclaims the influence of Antwerp. Christ's head is of a type resembling that employed by the Master of Alkmaar, but painted in greater detail. The landscape is advanced in style and the treatment of foliage is original. Like other Dutchmen of his day he devoted much attention to the trunks of his trees. Plants in the foreground are studied carefully from nature after the fashion, but without the genius, of Dürer. The whole picture is full of detail and has an aspect of high finish. If it lacks the charm of formal beauty the totality of the effect is undeniably decorative. To about the same date we may refer a Crucifixion which was in the Ruffo de Bonneval sale (No. 13).[2] It is a horrible work, containing only six figures and the kneeling donor—a Carthusian monk. It lacks every grace, disgusts with emphatic brutality, and prominently exemplifies one of the painter's weaknesses, his incapacity to foreshorten a face when seen obliquely. This was a failing of the Dutch School, which neither Engebrechtsen nor Lucas van Leyden

[1] See Prof. J. Six in Van Kalcken's *Peintures Ecclésiastiques du moyen-âge*, p. 9.

[2] Bruges Exhibition (1902), No. 379.

wholly escaped. The Vienna St. Jerome of 1511 is a far better picture, but we may pass it by to linger a moment over the elaborate Nativity at Naples dated in the following year. Jacob could scarcely have painted this picture without any Antwerp teaching. If the foundation of his art was Dutch, as we shall presently have better occasion to note, it had acquired a superficial finish in an Antwerp studio, and here he proposed to astonish some provincial patron with an exhibition of all his borrowed plumes at once. The architecture with its piers panelled with arabesques, the multitude of cherubs superfluously busy everywhere, the costume and plated head-dress of St. Margaret in the very latest fashion, the seascape and its ships bending over to the breeze, these and the like details were not of his invention; they were picked up from here and there and crowded round the square Dutch manger and adoring parents which alone he had not to go south to find. The portraits of the large family of donors are not bad, neither are they remarkable. In fine it is an overburdened and unsatisfactory painting by a laborious and ambitious craftsman. Yet when the worst is said the picture possesses a decorative quality which is praiseworthy, and one cannot but be impressed by the almost riotous energy of the crowd of personages human and divine that gather about so tiny an infant. A slightly later and more disciplined version of the same composition was (in 1916) in the hands of the Spanish Gallery, London. The cherubs in it are better drawn, and the composition is better balanced, while the three central figures are substantially the same. The execution is no less careful, and the greater concentration of the design enhances its effectiveness. Yet a third Nativity of like character, but later, is on a wing panel of some dismembered altar-piece. It is now at Basle.[1] Other versions exist.

Three Crucifixions, dating from about 1515, are of the usual populous type. They are in the Amsterdam (No. 723), Barnard Castle (No. 174), and J. G. Johnson (No. 409) Galleries. A comparison between them and the Crucifixions by the Amsterdam Lucia Master in the Museums at Utrecht and Amsterdam (No. 915a) shows a direct affiliation, which a detailed examination reveals as affecting not merely the general design but particular and

[1] From the Wurster sale, Cologne (1896), No. 63. On the back are two saints.



1. THE MASTER OF ALKMAAR. BUDAPEST MUSEUM.—p. 433.



3. JACOB VAN OOSTSANEN. SPANISH GALLERY.—p. 458.



2. JAN MOSTAERT. W. INDIAN LANDSCAPE. MUS. VAN STOLK. p. 442.



4. ENGEBRECHTSEN. COLL. FLERSHEIM.—p. 448.

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individual forms. Who the Lucia Master was we know not, but he may have been settled at Amsterdam and Jacob may have been and probably was his pupil. Our present knowledge yields no more precise conclusion. A dated triptych at Antwerp of this very year 1515 is evidence of an advance in artistic understanding. The copies of Dürer's Adam and Eve on the outsides of the wings lead us to expect, what on opening them is confirmed, that Jacob had been studying Dürer's engravings. The cherubs in the foreground of the half-length Virgin have travelled from Venice to Amsterdam by way of Nuremberg. The artist has begun to learn the value of reserve. The portraits of the donors are among the best Jacob ever painted, and St. Sebastian behind the husband is a charming and graceful figure, one of the best on any Dutch picture of that date. It is not, however, independent of Lucas van Leyden.

An Adoration of the Magi of 1517 in the Wied Collection, which was repeated in the example of 1520 at Kaufmann's and again in a copy dated 1536, last seen in the De Somzée sale (No. 594), must have achieved a not undeserved popularity. In design it is reminiscent of Antwerp, but the types are Dutch. Again, we have a fragment of architecture intended to be of Renaissance character, but the picture is devoid of true Renaissance feeling. In spirit Jacob van Oostsanen remained Gothic, and pursued a normal course without spiritual divergence into the new world, which he never really discovered. It takes more than a pilaster and an architrave to alter the essential quality of a design.

The half-length Madonna triptych of 1515 must have been a success, for Jacob painted another (Berlin, No. 607) of like type about three years later for Augustin van Teylingen and his wife. A third is in the collection of Sir William H. Bennett.[1] These three triptychs are Jacob's best works. The music-making cherubs in the Berlin example are even harder at work with distended cheeks, but they are less prominent and less Düreresque than at Antwerp. The landscape is full of incident and detail after Mostaert's fashion. On the wife's wing is a lady saint, carefully dressed, holding a peacock's feather in her hand; she reappears with the

[1] National Loan Exhibition, London, 1913–14, No. 43, reproduced in the illustrated catalogue.

same feather and painted from the same model, but differently dressed, on a wing which was in the Röhrer Collection.[1] In both cases she is St. Barbara, not, as generally stated, St. Catherine. St. Barbara also carries a peacock's feather on one of a pair of wings at Pisa of the school of Cornelis Engebrechtsen. I have no idea what the feather means. An ostrich plume is similarly held by St. Barbara in the Lisbon Mannerist triptych, and in one or two other paintings of the Antwerp Mannerist type, and it may have been from that master that the Dutch artists borrowed the emblem. It was also used in the Cologne School. A Magdalen drawn from the same model at approximately the same date finds place on a Pietà, only known from an indifferent copy in the Archiepiscopal Museum at Utrecht.[2]

A pair of roundels in the Carrand Collection (Nos. 22, 23) at Florence have been variously ascribed to Mostaert, Engebrechtsen, and Jacob; they fit the last-named best. They are brightly decorative works of no great merit. With the year 1523 we reach an important dated picture by our artist; it is the All Saints triptych at Cassel—a composition stretching across the three panels and thronged with figures, those in front waist-deep in clouds. We can easily identify among them Adam and Eve, Abraham and Isaac, Moses and Aaron, Joshua with the embroidered sun "standing still" in the middle of his back, David with his harp, and the Apostles further round, while the circling host thickens and multiplies behind on either hand. The Trinity are the least impressive figures. I discover more than a chance connexion between this composition and that of the Buckingham Palace triptych called of the school of Hugo van der Goes, but as we do not know by whom, when, or where that picture was painted, the coincidence does not enrich our knowledge of the life-story of Jacob van Oostsanen. It is probable that he had been away from home once more, perhaps again at Antwerp, and had endeavoured to throw himself into the current artistic movement. Only a new outside influence could have provoked the composition of the Hague Salome, a small life-size half-length under a round arch rising from awkwardly corniced piers in bad perspective, with the angles of the piers cham-

[1] *Monatshefte f. K.*, iii, pt. 4, with reproduction.
[2] Phot. in Dulberg's *Frühholländer*.

fered off in Gothic fashion. The horrible head of St. John is badly foreshortened and his bloody neck turned with brutal ill-taste toward the spectator. The simplicity of drapery and pose is a faint reflection of the new ideal, but Jacob was not a good enough draughtsman to succeed with such a design. The Witch of Endor (Amsterdam, No. 722) of 1526 and a triptych at Stuttgart of 1530 are his latest dated religious pictures, and do not alter the impression which the foregoing have left upon us, nor should we gain much by the discussion of half a dozen other works that have been passed over. Jacob van Oostsanen was not a creative artist of importance. He possessed a certain decorative sense and sometimes employed it with happy results. He used clear bright colours and made a cheerful mosaic with them, but his subjects seldom arrest attention; as he approaches the dramatic he attains the brutal.

Jacob, like every painter of any importance in his day, was also employed to make portraits. If the likeness of Edzard I, Duke of East Friesland (ob. 1526), in the Oldenburg Gallery is really by him it is his best work in that kind. Other versions of it are at Dijon and in the possession of the Duke of Rutland.[1] The original has also been ascribed to Lucas van Leyden. If Jacob painted it he did so under the influence of Lucas. A bust portrait of some artist by himself belonging to Lord Beauchamp[2] has also been brought into relation with Jacob, but unconvincingly. It comes nearer to Mostaert, but is more vivid than any other Dutch portrait of the time known to me—if Dutch it be. A genuine pair are the half-length portraits at Rotterdam of the same Van Teylingens whom we met on the wings of the Berlin Madonna. Though the frames bear the refreshed date 1511 the correct year should evidently be 1521, as is proved by the costumes; nor is it only the frames that have been repainted. Enough, however, remains to show that originally the portraits were of an honest uninspired sort, the husband's being far the better. A stout man's bust in the Cook Collection may be by our artist on a happy day. This time he has not only caught the likeness but the expression of a face that shows determination and strength of character but likewise bears the

[1] The Dijon picture has a landscape background. One with a plain background was sold at Heberle's (May 1900), No. 12.

[2] Reproduced by the Arundel Club.

traces of suffering. The head looms out of dark surroundings, and there are no hands or background details to withdraw the eye from it. So keen and steady is the man's gaze that the spectator feels himself the beheld rather than the beholder. Unfortunately for Jacob, his authorship is not assured. The portrait of a man in the Harrach Collection at Vienna, which may be dated about 1520, is no great matter, but that is not wholly the artist's fault, for such a sitter gave him little opportunity. It would take an artist of genius to make much of so poor-looking a creature.[1]

Before the 18th of October 1533 Jacob was dead. The bust portrait of himself at Amsterdam (No. 721) dated in that year must depict him in the last months of his life. He does not seem old. His face is more interesting than his works. It is an artist's face, but with a great nose out of harmony with the rest of the features. The mouth indicates gentleness rather than force, and he looks more wary than sly. He has a patient aspect, and seems not without humour—a very respectable citizen and family man, one might suppose, but not likely to make a deep impression on his day and generation.

Friedländer names five drawings by him at Berlin, Dresden, Frankfurt, and in a sale. They are not important. As a designer of woodcuts he takes higher rank, for there his sense of decoration had some scope and he distributed his blacks and whites effectively. His longest series of cuts was a set, eighty in number, illustrative of Old and New Testament subjects—one of those sets which most Dutch printers owned and used in whole or part, as opportunity occurred, in religious works of various kinds. He also designed a Passion and a Life of Christ, as well as a set of Virtues and Vices and another of the Counts and Countesses of Holland. These hardly fall within the purview of the present work. I forgot to mention that Jacob was Scorel's second master, from about 1512. That gifted youth probably did not take long to reach the limit of what the master could teach him. On the look out for more advanced instruction he attached himself to Mabuse, with the unsatisfactory result already related. It is hardly likely that the

[1] Other portraits attributed to Jacob van Oostsanen are a pair at Brussels (Nos. 570, 571), one dated 1514 at Antwerp and one at Utrecht. Emil Jacobsen attributes to him one at Turin (No. 319).

investigations of the future will do much to raise our estimate of Jacob van Oostsanen. If he had not happened to be the first prominent artist to work at Amsterdam we might have passed him by more unceremoniously. For present purposes enough has been said ; let a more sympathetic biographer treat him at greater length. I leave him with the suspicion that I have hardly done him justice.

CHAPTER XXXI

LUCAS VAN LEYDEN

Lucas van Leyden was remembered with pride in his native city as an artist who had been what nowadays, in the case of musicians, we call a youthful prodigy. Van Mander visited Leyden only some two-thirds of a century after the death of Lucas and put this tradition on record; we cannot, therefore, set it aside as valueless. He further stated as the result of his researches that Lucas was born in the last days of May or the first of June in the year 1494. When, however, we discover that some of his best work was done in and before 1510, in which year he would only have been aged 16, and that several of his engravings of conspicuous merit must date back a few years before 1508, our powers of acceptance are considerably strained. We ask for more evidence than Van Mander's word in confirmation or disproof. This appears to be forthcoming in the form of portraits, two of them securely dated, the third claiming to show him at the age of 15. The last mentioned is a painting at Brunswick; the other two are drawings by Dürer. Unfortunately, a mere glance shows that the three likenesses depict three different people. An employer who would select one of them for any particular job would be sure to reject both the others, so different are their obvious dispositions and qualities. Yet students, lacking for the most part in knowledge of men, have comfortably accepted all three likenesses as portraits of Lucas van Leyden, the habit of relying upon the written word being stronger in them than the evidence of their own eyes.

The Brunswick painting is authenticated by an engraving of it by Andreas Stock. It is accompanied by text stating that it is a portrait of Lucas, painted by himself, at the age of 15, or *ex hypothesi* in the second half of 1509 or the first of 1510. Dürer's silver-point drawing at Lille is supposed to be the one mentioned in his diary as made by him about June 1521. An engraving of

it by Wierix is inscribed as made after the likeness of Lucas by Dürer. The third is a black chalk drawing by Dürer in the British Museum (Salting bequest; Lippmann, No. 403). There is an engraving of this also (in reverse) which falsely claims to be by Lucas (B. 174). It is signed 15 L 25, and inscribed as a likeness of the painter by himself. Someone, perhaps the engraver, has mutilated the original drawing by rubbing out Dürer's monogram and the date 1521 and substituting for them the same 15 L 25 which appears on the engraving. An examination of the engraving reveals weaknesses which suffice to prove that it was not the work of Lucas. It was doubtless believed to be his likeness by the owner of the drawing at the time the engraving was made, and such old traditions are of value.

Lest the reader should doubt my assertion that the three likenesses are of different men, I will proceed to prove it. If we mark a line joining the middle of the eyes at a point half-way between them, and also mark the root of the nose at the top of the upper lip, the line of the mouth, and the tip of the chin in each, we thus define three lengths which we may roughly call the lengths of the nose, the upper lip, and the chin. These lengths should bear to one another approximately the same proportions in the three likenesses if they depict a single individual. Their proportions are as follows:

	Chin.	Upper lip.	Nose.
British Museum drawing .	100	50·6	116
Brunswick picture . .	100	60	149
Lille drawing . . .	100	55	97

Or we may take a yet easier comparison and measure the proportionate relation of the nose (as above defined) to the length of the rest of the face down to the tip of the chin. If we make the latter length 100, the proportionate length of the nose in each of the likenesses is as follows:

British Museum drawing . .	78
Brunswick picture . . .	92
Lille drawing . . .	66

It is therefore impossible that any two of these likenesses can represent one and the same individual, and as all seem to be about

equally well authenticated we cannot, without further evidence, say which, if any, of the three depicts Lucas. Internal evidence, indeed, rejects the Brunswick picture. This scowling cow-boy of a fellow can scarcely have been an artist. His gross mouth and weak chin seem incompatible with the determination and consistency of endeavour which are exemplified so strikingly in the life and accomplishment of Lucas; but the two men drawn by Dürer might be artists.

If we cast an eye over the whole existing work of Lucas in search of possible portraits of the painter in the background, the most obvious probability adheres to the visible half-length of a man with his wife beside him, lookers-on at a gambling scene in Lord Pembroke's picture. He resembles in striking fashion the chalk-drawn portrait by Dürer in the British Museum. Applying to the pictured head the same test we have already applied to the rest we get exactly the same proportions as those of the London drawing, and the observed similarity is confirmed.[1] We may therefore assert with some confidence that the British Museum drawing and Lord Pembroke's picture contain portraits of Lucas van Leyden, and the former may be dated beyond question to the year 1521. If Lucas was born in 1494 he was 27 years old in 1521. It is, I think, evident that the man portrayed is older and is probably nearer 35 than 30 years of age. Dülberg dates Lord Pembroke's picture to about 1519, but Beets would put it

[1] The reader who wishes to verify the experiment should proceed as follows: Let him provide himself with a large sheet of paper and set up a line or ordinate at right angles to the bottom edge and anywhere about a hand's length to the right of the bottom left-hand corner. Let him measure off along this ordinate from the bottom at A upward a length of 100 mm. to a point we shall mark B; above that a length of 50 mm. to C, and above that one of 116 mm. to D. Let him now draw radii from the bottom left-hand corner to the points B, C, D respectively. Having prepared this simple diagram, let him take a clean piece of paper with a sharp straight edge, and applying that to any good photograph of the drawing (on whatever scale), let him mark with a sharp pencil the distances between the points in question on the face and let him proceed similarly with the face in Lord Pembroke's picture. If now he will apply the papers thus marked to his diagram, making the mark corresponding to the tip of the chin travel along the bottom edge of his diagram from left to right, and keeping the edge of his travelling slip vertical, he will find that when one of the other points coincides with the corresponding radius all will coincide with theirs respectively, and he will find that the same simultaneous coincidence will occur also with the other. But if he makes a similar experiment with the Lille and Brunswick likenesses no such coincidence will take place.

down to 1530. The fashion of the cap worn by Lucas in it confirms Dülberg's estimate within a few years. Picture and drawing must be approximately of one date, the picture perhaps the later of the two, for in it the artist looks a little older than in the drawing. Therefore, I do not believe that Lucas van Leyden was born in 1494, but somewhere about and rather before 1490.[1]

The facts known about our artist's life may be stated in a few words.[2] His father, Hugo Jacobszoon of Leyden, was also a painter, said to have been of merit. He is mentioned in the archives as a householder in 1480. He was doubtless, therefore, already married. Pictures by him probably exist unidentified; he may be one of the early Dutch artists known to us only by invented nicknames. His son Lucas gave early proof of unusual capacity and industry. He is said to have engraved a plate when only 9 years old, and three years later to have painted in distemper a St. Hubert which was much admired. His earliest dated works in engraving and woodcut are of 1508. Existing engravings ascribed to him are 172 in number, and form the bulk of his surviving output. He also designed many remarkable woodcuts, while over a score of pictures by him can still be seen in public and private collections. It does not require written record to prove that from boyhood he was a passionate worker. His only child was a daughter of unrecorded motherhood, born in 1513. This mischance did not hinder his marriage four years later to a very superior young lady, of much higher rank than her bridegroom. She was Elizabeth, daughter of the most important noble family in the town—the Van Boschhuyzens. The acceptance of such an alliance by her parents, evidently with pride, seems to prove that the young artist was possessed of charm as well as ability. He had already in 1515 been inscribed on the list of Arquebusiers, a guarantee of his respectable social position. Over the troubles he had with his

[1] Background figures in other works by Lucas have been pointed out as possible self-portraits, but not convincingly. The engraving B. 174, attributed to our artist, was copied by Hondius as a portrait of Lucas. The youth appears to be some 25 years old, perhaps less, but the facial proportions negative the ascription.

[2] A good summary of what is known will be found in N. Beets' *Lucas de Leyde*, Brussels, 1913. See also Dülberg's articles in *Oud-Holland*, 1899, and other authorities cited by Beets.

brother Dirk, who was evidently a " bad egg," we need not delay. His work was his life and his production its events. In 1521 he was at Antwerp and Dürer met him there, accepted his hospitality, exchanged prints with him, and drew his portrait. He describes him in his diary as " a little mannikin " (*ein kleins Männlein*) " who engraves on copper." This contact with the great Nuremberg artist was of importance ; the effect of it is immediately traceable in Lucas' drawings. He was again at Antwerp in 1522, in which year his name is found in the books of the Painters' Guild as " Lucas the Dutchman, painter." How long this Antwerp visit lasted we know not, but he was certainly back at Leyden in 1525. In 1527 he undertook that festive journey in his own boat round the art-centres of the Netherlands on which he was accompanied by Mabuse as above related. It was the ruin of his health. He contracted a fever, probably malaria, and never was well again. It can hardly be literally true that he spent most of the remaining six years of his life in bed, for he could not there have painted the pictures still existing. It has been claimed that Lucas had accomplished the best work he was capable of before his early death in 1533, the year in which both Cornelis Engebrechtsen and Jacob van Oostsanen also died. His long illness must be taken into account. If during his last years his art did not progress, that is no proof that it would not have advanced if his health had been maintained. His development, if erratic, was fairly continuous up to 1527, and I am content to believe that in the next ten years he would have done better still but for that unfortunate journey along the mosquito-infected canals and rivers.

After Dürer, Lucas was the most important engraver of his day. It was as an engraver that his fame spread far and wide in his own lifetime. It is by his engravings even now that he is best known. Who taught him this art ? Someone in Leyden must have supplied the simple necessary tools and shown him how to use them. There were already engravers in the Netherlands—a very poor lot, as we can judge from their surviving prints. From the best of them Lucas cannot have learned more than the rudiments, but to so gifted a genius the rudiments sufficed. He developed his waxing powers by study of Dürer's engravings and directed his efforts by them. We are not writing a history of engraving and must pass

rapidly over our artist's productions in this kind, but his development as a painter would be inexplicable if we had not his ninety-two dated engravings to fill out the picture. The earliest of these is the Mahomet (B. 126) of 1508. Internal evidence indicates that it was preceded by a number of undated compositions. The chronological list printed by Bartsch more than a century ago is generally accepted as fairly satisfactory, but Beets promises a revision which has not yet appeared.

Everyone accepts as very early certain prints in which nude figures are introduced, the engraving of the Fall (B. 7) being a typical, perhaps the earliest example. The figures are crudely drawn and awkward, all joints and knobs. It is evident that they were not studied from life. Yet this is already artist's work, marked by an uncouth vigour and conceived as a whole with a sense of light and shade borrowed from no one. The figures in full light are projected against a sombre background of dark wood, the tree-trunks huddled together and a black sky visible between them. Another Fall (B. 90) of early date shows Adam with a huge ill-shaped lump of a shoulder, such as Engebrechtsen misdrew on the wing of the Utrecht Crucifixion. More remarkable —indeed, very remarkable, for a young artist—is a somewhat later plate, called the Adieu (P. 177), in which a lady accompanied by her maid, carrying a jewel-case in her hand, is walking away, but turns her head back with passion to kiss the lover who must stay behind. The shading here is laid with a multitude of delicate lines. The drawing is much better, the composition highly original for its day, the sentiment impossible for a mere boy—the whole wonderful enough for a youth of 18. The attraction to depict strong effects of light and shade, which led most Dutch painters of the day to produce imitations of Geertgen's Nativity, found with Lucas a more original expression in the engraving called the Torchbearer (B. 147). The flame illuminates three figures passing along a darkened street and suggests, if it does not depict, a glare in the night. Neither Dürer nor any other engraver had played with so strong a chiaroscuro. It is an original effort, proof of inventive force and imaginative enterprise, which would have been remarkable at that day in a mature artist, but is astonishing in a youth. Compositions such as the Rest by the Way (B. 38),

Abraham and Hagar (B. 17), or the Holy Family under a Tree (B. 85) are more advanced, by no means on traditional lines, and each somewhat better composed, better drawn, better balanced than its predecessor. In most of them trees are introduced with big trunks and large though often spare foliage reminiscent of Mostaert. The black-and-white is decoratively composed, and the figures are placed and sized with due regard to the form and dimensions of the plate. Yet more notable alike for composition and the elaborateness of the delicate line-work and gradations of tone is the David harping before Saul (B. 27), in which the background is again black, the heads behind in a half-light, those in front fully illumined. The figures are now on a larger scale, the heads varied in character and expression, with gestures to match, though the madly brooding king, twisted into an awkward posture by his gloomy and angry inward emotion, was rather beyond the artist's power to realize. Best of all is St. George saluting the weeping Princess, just saved by his prowess from the dragon. Her gesture is that of many a Magdalen in Netherlands Passion pictures, but for the rest it is Dürer whose promptings have been followed, and some of his elements imitated by a creative, not a mechanical follower.[1]

It is not till after these and other plates that we come to the dated Mahomet (B. 126) of 1508, a more extensive, if not a more original composition, well thought out, the story well told, and the background of landscape much more elaborate. We are asked to believe that this was the work of a boy of 14, and that the others preceded it over a period of five years. My credulity does not thus far extend: even if I may call him but 19 in 1508, I can accomplish acquiescence only with difficulty. It is not that signs of genius are lacking; it is that there is so much evidence of hard work, of effort in one direction after another, of experiment and labour involving time, a certain maturity of judgment, and the growth of a masculine, not a boyish emotion. To this same year 1508 also belongs a delicate drawing of David before Saul, a study doubtless made and rejected in connexion with the engraving. It is further evidence that the plates were not seized upon and wrought in a hurry, if such evidence were at all necessary. Another early, probably earlier, drawing in the Fairfax Murray Collection

[1] Beets attributes the Saul to 1509.

is of bolder character, and shows a "pull Devil, pull beggar" struggle between Death and a horribly frightened young man. They sit on the ground feet to feet tugging at a leg-bone, and there is nothing to show which will lose, but should it be the youth his coffin is waiting for him in the background. Grim humour of this kind is not common with Lucas.

Evidently the young artist was now confident of his powers and ready for further efforts and adventures. Accordingly, in 1508 he attacked a plate of much larger size than before and covered it with an elaborate composition depicting the Conversion of St. Paul. A stroke from heaven has overthrown horse and man in the background. That is a mere detail to identify the subject. The blinded and shell-shocked leader of the party is seen in the foreground, himself the led, surrounded by his men who guide his tottering steps. The marching of the party is better depicted than ever before. The weight of the body is thrown forward on the straight advanced leg, and a sense of motion conveyed. Even the dogs appear to move with the rest. Now also Lucas issued nine large circular prints, illustrative of the Passion, with a decorative border which could be used with each in turn. They were either suggested by or intended as designs for painted glass roundels. The subjects are the usual repulsive set, and we need not linger over them.

Thus, either in or just after the year 1510, when we may guess Lucas to have been about 21, we approach and may discuss his first group of panel pictures. They are among the most attractive of his works. An Adoration of the Magi, now in the Ryerson Collection at Chicago, may be taken as example.[1] Compared with the common run of Magi pictures so numerous at that time, especially in the output of the Antwerp studios, this is infinitely refreshing. The foreground figures, not seen below the knee, are of varied character and quite charmingly painted with a delicacy and refinement of touch that delight the eye. The rendering of varied textures is masterly. There is no search after things elaborate and peculiar—no astonishing architecture, no very marvellous brocades, no strut or swagger about the folk.

[1] I am indebted to the Spanish Gallery in London for a photograph of it, and for calling my attention to the picture which passed through their hands.

They are simply employed, and they charm the vision. There are tramping steeds of cart-horse type, small in the background, and behind them a romantic landscape purely but efficiently decorative. The panel is small and the style of the work matches the scale. It comes from a mature artist superior to any other then at work in Holland. If Engebrechtsen was his master—and we have no reason to doubt the record—the mark that he left on his pupil was singularly faint. He told him, of course, how to mix and lay on his paints, and Lucas borrowed his chord of colour from him —the bright tints, the shot colours; but he did not borrow his forms, his kind of composition, his types of figure or costume. The fountain of original creation welled up so strongly in Lucas from the first that he had no need of aught save technical instruction from without. He inherited, however, some of Engebrechtsen's weaknesses, such as his bad foreshortening of heads (e.g. in B. 24, 25, 29, etc.) and shoulders, and never quite threw them off.

I have named this picture first because of its charm, but the Chess-players at Berlin (No. 105) is probably earlier. Lucas was ignorant of the game or would not have made the board oblong with twelve squares in one direction and eight in the other! It was not the game that interested him, but the players and onlookers, their heads and their expressions. The lady is checkmating her opponent, and he is supposed to be overcome. His expression is a failure. The subject was beyond the artist's powers. There is no concentration upon the event nor any unity holding all together. Particular heads are good, some very good, and they are cleverly but artificially patched together, not united by the nature of the case or any inevitability such as a finely successful composition appears to imply. Far better, admirable indeed in a high degree, is the Susanna at Bremen—a gem likewise of small dimensions. Here the figures, only seen to the waist as in the other two pictures, are crowded together, but in perfect relation to one another; their expressions and gestures match their parts—the lady resigned, Daniel eager,[1] the judge shrewdly observant, the old men rather stupid, and a brilliant and beautiful youth [2] looking on from behind

[1] A similar youthful demonstrator appears in the Joseph print (B. 19) of 1512.

[2] The same model seems to have been employed for Joseph as dream-interpreter (B. 22), also in 1512.

with lips parted and the eyes of a lover. No group like this can be found in any contemporary picture of the school. It is a brilliant and novel improvisation. We are asked to believe it the work of a boy of 16! It is an impossibility.

Another large plate engraved about this time (*c.* 1510) is the Return of the Prodigal Son (B. 78). There are some good figures in it, not comparable to those in the paintings, but it is the advance in landscape that arrests attention. The steep hill in the background with the faintly outlined mountains behind projected against a darkened sky was suggested by the landscape from near Lake Garda which Dürer drew in Italy and translated into a woodcut on his return home. Lucas had beheld nothing like it in nature. The calm river in his middle distance with village and castle embowered in trees was a kind of sight he may have known, though scarcely thus looked down upon in his flat homeland. He need not have gone to Dürer for that little group of pigs and Prodigal at a trough, but he did so. Perhaps they stuck in his memory. The cow-herd and rear half of a cow just passing out of the plate were his very own, and so pleased was he with them that he forthwith gave a whole plate to a cow (B. 158) with cow-herd and milkmaid at the two ends of her and a couple more beasts behind. It is the first farmyard scene, pure and simple, and not pretending to illustrate history sacred or profane, ever depicted by an artist for its own sake. Paul Potter is foretold. These are far from being all the surviving works of this prolific year. There are also another very large plate, the Ecce Homo (B. 71), with a well-drawn background of courtyard, platform, and buildings entirely credible in character, a Baptism with a throng of onlookers (B. 40), an Adam, Eve, and baby (B. 11), and more beside, but enough has been said to indicate the fury of production that raged within Lucas in this most brilliant period of his youth.

After 1508 most of his engravings are dated, but none carry the figures 1511. The suggestion has been made that in this year he was away from home; if so, probably at Antwerp, devoting his energies to painting pictures as a welcome change after so much engraving. Two of the pictures above described may perhaps have been made then. A remarkable painting of the Temptation of

St. Anthony in the Brussels Gallery is authenticated by the date. Compared with those that went before, it shows a marked change of style and expresses approximation to some new sphere of influences. The build, the large drapery forms, the posture and the passion of the Saint are new in Northern art. This figure, but for its colouring, would hardly be out of place in some late Bolognese picture. The tribe of devils remind us of Bosch, but are not imitated from him; they are humorous creations without any close parallel. The bare romantic landscape and the weird chiaroscuro—all the light there is in the foreground proceeding from a crucifix—are necessary factors in an integral whole. So sudden a change in imaginative vision seems to imply the artist's transference to a new medium, for it is easier to suppose that he moved to it than that it came to him. Beets' suggestion of an Antwerp visit at this time thus receives support. A butterfly may be observed clinging to the Saint's drapery. This little detail is of South Netherlandish origin. Flies and other insects carefully studied from nature were commonly introduced into the borders of illuminated manuscripts by Flemish miniaturists of the late fifteenth century. Thence they found their way into pictures[1] at Bruges and Antwerp, and from such Lucas must have caught the trick. Antwerp influence is yet more evident in a Beheading of St. John Baptist which is in the J. G. Johnson Collection. The costume of Herodias is of Antwerp fashion copied at first hand. The loose open sleeve gathered below the shoulder, which is puffed and slashed, is not found in any picture by Engebrechtsen or Jacob van Oostsanen, but is common for a year or two at Antwerp. The headdress belongs to the same school of costume.[2] If, however, the fashion is borrowed, Lucas treated the drapery in a free style of his own and gave to it the animation of the figure it clothed while endowing it with a decorative quality. Here as always he remains himself, conceiving anew with entire detachment the most hackneyed subjects and designing them as though no one had ever done so before.

If Beets is correct in his confident reading of the date 1511 upon

[1] Examples may be cited by Joos van Cleve. There is a Flemish Madonna in Lord Methuen's collection with a great blue-bottle fly in a prominent position on some light drapery.

[2] A sleeve not of the same, but of an approximating fashion, appears in the Solomon print (B. 30) of 1514.

the bust-portrait of a man in the Valkenburg Collection at The Hague, it also was painted at this moment of new insight.[1] From every point of view it is a novel and striking work, the sitter keenly observed, the features boldly rendered with a free and flowing brush, the sharp outlines of earlier portraitists replaced by a less definite limitation of forms, the whole exemplifying the suggestiveness which culminates with Rembrandt and calls upon the spectator to contribute his own share of imagination toward the complete realization of the painter's dream. This picture opens a new epoch in portraiture, and founds the great style which Rembrandt and Hals were to carry to a perfection of its own. It is the glory of Leyden to have given it to the world. An indication that at this time Lucas was attending to portraiture is the existence of a black chalk sketch-portrait of a man, dated 1512, which is in the British Museum. It is done in a brilliant summary fashion and probably depicts a fellow-craftsman. A more elaborate and formal study for the portrait of a young man, also in the British Museum, appears to bear the genuine date 1513.[2] It has been a good deal rubbed, especially about the face and hair, but the masterly drawing of the costume is well preserved. The half-length figure and face almost in profile are projected against a small open archway or window—a common convention which we may be sure Lucas would have treated in a way of his own.

In 1512 the series of engravings takes a new start; at this time, moreover, our artist designed a good many of his best woodcuts. He was fortunate in being able to command the services of excellent craftsmen to carry them out. One of his earliest blocks to which a date can be assigned, a St. Martin printed in the Utrecht Breviary issued from the Leyden press of Jan Severtsz in 1508, bears the mark of that excellent woodcutter Jost de Neghker. I shall not, however, delay the reader over works of this class, because they do not bring us so closely into relation with the artist himself, and we have in his engravings and paintings abundant material for following the changes in his style and development of his outlook. Five

[1] Beets was aware that Friedländer and others read the figures 1517, but he asserts that the last figure is not and cannot be a 7, and this after close and repeated examination.

[2] Reproduced by the Vasari Society. I understand that this date has been questioned in *Onze Kunst* (April 1915), and 1518–20 suggested instead. I have been unable to procure a copy of the article.

engravings of 1512 devoted to the story of Joseph (B. 19–23) were evidently admired. At least, one of them (B. 21) was copied in tapestry.[1] The large Magi print of 1513 (B. 37) is one of Lucas' best. It is a more advanced composition than the painting of two or three years before, but what it has gained in learning and complexity it has lost in charm. The figure of the central king seems not entirely unconnected with that of Abraham in Engebrechtsen's picture in the Auspitz Collection, but I suspect the latter to have been the borrower. Both artists were impressed by Dürer's engraving of the Knight and Death. We have seen the use made of it by Engebrechtsen in a picture called Mordecai and Haman. Lucas borrowed the horse, but much more freely, in an engraving (B. 32) of a similar subject, the processional triumph of Mordecai, but instead of strewing Haman in the foreground he exalted him on a very remote gallows. The movement of the figures and especially of the horse is excellently rendered, even better than with Dürer.

Portrait drawings continued to appear from time to time, and there are several in the British Museum undated but attributable to these years. There is also a good example in the Correr Museum at Venice, doubtless a finished study for a painting. It shows us a youth in a fur-trimmed coat and cap with brim that can turn up or down, a face carefully modelled, almost in profile and relieved against a shaded background. An individual in a fur cap is boldly rendered in the British Museum, and several more might be cited.[2] A striking picture of St. Jerome in penitence at Berlin (No. 493) shows the Saint, partly nude, with some drapery loosely gathered about him. It is better drapery than can easily be found in Netherlands pictures of the period and shows an advance on that of Herodias. The great tree-trunks are decoratively employed, and their strong upright forms give vigour to the composition. The drawing of shoulder and back is still defective and labours under the bad tradition of Engebrechtsen. An engraving of the same subject (B. 113) is dated 1516, which is the probable date of the picture also, the two being linked together by a similar and original treatment of the halo. The year 1517 brings forth another

[1] Otlet sale (1902), No. 99.

[2] See Sidney Colvin in the *Jahrb. d. Pr. Kss.*, xiv, p. 165, with numerous reproductions.

of the large plates, the Crucifixion (B. 74). Attention is distracted from the tragedy on a hillock behind by the multifarious groups of larger scale in the foregound, folk discussing, quarrelling, or reflecting, as the case may be. A woman with her infant (unfortunately ill-drawn) sitting alone in front is intended to suggest a reminiscence of the beginning of a life to end thus dreadfully. The treatment of the subject as a whole is described as "cold"—mercifully so. It lacks the repulsiveness inherent in most Dutch Crucifixions of the day, and that is well. The time had not yet come for the painting of such a glorious dramatic presentment as Tintoret's, rising far above mere horror and disgust. That involved the command of resources not yet at the disposal of any painter. For dignified emblematic representation such as Perugino's wall-paintings at Florence the time had passed.

The year 1518 produced a plentiful crop of engravings of religious subjects, several of them "pot-boilers," but the small figure of the Magdalen exalted on clouds is an imposing though rather material apparition. Esther before Ahasuerus (B. 31) is quite uninspired. I name it because there is at Frankfurt a drawing put forward as containing studies for two of the heads alongside of a third which is that of St. Luke in the engraving B. 104. The fact that all three face in the same direction as in the prints suggests that they are copies from them, and a careful examination reveals the mechanical character of the drawing and disproves the handiwork of Lucas. The faintly outlined profile has a curiously modern appearance. Dülberg, in my opinion, correctly attributes to about 1519 the well-known painted portrait at Brunswick, long and wrongly supposed to be a likeness of the artist painted by himself at the age of 15. Vermeulen proves, by the fashion of the shirt-collar, that the picture cannot be dated earlier than 1518.[1] The personage depicted is a full-grown man not in the least like Lucas or any other artist. He is splendidly characterized with his lowering brow, overhanging eyelids, protruding lower lip, and underhung chin. Sulky, surly, and sly, he looms out upon us with light upon his ugly face and darkness all around.

Silver-point drawings by Lucas are not common. There is one in the British Museum[2] which contains studies from the nude,

[1] *Onze Kunst*, vol. xxvii (1915), p. 98. [2] Reproduced by the Vasari Soc., iii, 21.

the same man twice over, figures seated back to back upon a globe, with a lion crouching beside him and a vine tendril in his hand. The meaning of the design escapes us ; perhaps it had none. Far finer is the almost life-size masterly sketch of a woman's head, the portrait of a most competent lady, dated 1519, likewise in the British Museum. A Leonardesque-looking man's face is lightly sketched in beside hers. It has been thought that a similar pair may be discerned in the foreground of the large contemporary engraving (B. 122) which depicts the Magdalen in her very moderate and respectable gaieties. The likeness is not striking. This is the latest of Lucas' large plates with many figures. It is lacking in the vivacity and spirit such a subject might have been expected to evoke. There is art in the distribution of figures and groups, but the hunting and hunted animals in the background are curiously stiff and the work, as a whole, lacks the spontaneity and inventiveness of earlier days. It looks as though Lucas had ceased to find entertainment in narrative illustration. Perhaps the process he had employed so long had become mechanically wearisome to him and ceased to stimulate his inventiveness and resource.

In 1520 we find him adopting that mixture of engraving and etching employed by Dürer. One of the uses to which he put it was to make an engraved translation (B. 172) of that master's great portrait woodcut of the Emperor Maximilian. The artist's pen-and-ink design for it was in a private collection in Paris a few years ago.[1] A copy does not count for much, while the four small original compositions thus engraved by him (B. 12, 29, 125, and 150) do not take rank among his best prints, but the Till Owlglass (B. 159) is enlightened by his quiet humour and homely observation. It offers an entertaining mediæval parallel to the troubles of the Old Woman who lived in a Shoe. The obvious suggestion has been put forth that Lucas made a trial of the new process on the occasion of his visit to Antwerp. Dürer mentions meeting him there, and it is possible that Lucas received hints or instruction from him. The process of etching was in itself no novelty, but its application to the engraving of plates was recent.[2] Lucas was the first artist

[1] *Gaz. d. Beaux-Arts*, 1876, i, p. 525.

[2] For an account of the introduction of etching, see G. Pauli, *Incunabulen der . . . Radierung*, Graphische Gesellschaft, 1908, with many reproductions.

of the Low Countries so to employ it, but did not find it satisfactory and after a few experiments gave it up. It is evident that commerce with Dürer produced a considerable effect on him, not that we shall henceforward find him slavishly imitating Dürer's designs or modifying his own style in a Düreresque direction. He had long ago absorbed all of Dürer's art that was suited for absorption by him. But he noted some of the material factors of Dürer's prosperity and observed the kinds of print which he was able to sell freely. That, no doubt, was why he in turn presently (in 1521) issued a small engraved Passion of fourteen plates, also a St. Jerome,[1] and later two Virgins on the Crescent (B. 80 and 82), and a seated Virgin bending forward over the Child (B. 84). The peasant subjects of 1523 and 1524 were likewise suggested by Dürer's prints, and others might be cited. It was not, I imagine, a motive of artistic admiration but of commercial rivalry that drew these products from the hand of Lucas. They are consequently of little intrinsic interest or merit.

It was otherwise with some fine portrait drawings in a new technique of which three bear the date 1521. In the Louvre are four more. It was Dürer's habit, especially after dinner, to draw in chalk, charcoal, or silver-point a portrait of his host or some individual who may or may not have paid him. He thus drew Lucas himself twice over—once in chalk on the sheet now in the British Museum and once in silver-point. Evidently Lucas was moved to rivalry in this sort of work, though in a modified technique of his own, the modelling and shadows being done, engraver-like, with parallel lines and cross-hatchings. There is a large and striking portrait of a sweet woman in the Museum at Weimar, the face not perfectly foreshortened, but, nevertheless, a very pleasing work. A yellow background washed in effectively shows up the head and bust. She wears an early example of the white cap with two long tails so characteristic of Dutch portraits during the next twenty years or so. At Stockholm is a life-size study of the head of a man as to the draughtsmanship of which no criticism can be made. More delicately modelled and better finished is the head of a somewhat younger man in Leyden Museum. It is masterly work of the most satisfying kind, full of observation,

[1] A silver-point study for this engraving is in the Uffizi (No. 8,705 D).

dignity, and reserve. What a pity that Lucas in his turn did not hand down to us a portrait of Dürer! All these likenesses are marked by a common element which belonged to the artist, not to the sitters. He beheld them with a kind of stately gravity, and infused into them an aspect of gentleness which must have been his own and harmonizes with Dürer's portrait of him.

Lord Pembroke's picture of the Card Players above referred to must have been painted about this time, rather before than after the Antwerp visit, but perhaps actually done beside the Scheldt. Compared with the early Chess-players it shows a rich maturing. The game and its chances unite the figures, except those of the painter and the woman beside him, probably his wife, who stand unconcerned behind. The rest are occupied, paying or receiving money, considering their cards, offering or accepting advice. The light and grouping give prominence to a central individual whose face is an excellent portrait. A good deal of money is at stake, but everything proceeds quietly and with decorum. The projection against the open window of the sharp profile of a flattish hat produces an excellent effect. The whole picture is well built up, yet even in it there are failures in the foreshortening of faces, the result of early miseducation. In 1522 Lucas was still at Antwerp. A picture at Munich shows that local influences were working upon him. It was once a diptych with the Annunciation outside, the Virgin and Child on one wing, the donor and his wife on the other in the characters of St. Joseph and the Magdalen. This is, perhaps, one of the pictures described by Van Mander, though it differs from the description in certain not unimportant details. Thus the lower part of the Virgin's body is not hidden by a stone, a feature in the Berlin Madonna. Possibly Van Mander, having seen both, wrote from memory, and confused them together. The refined Renaissance arcading, the Virgin's canopy and festoon-holding cherubs, her throne, the Magdalen's costume, the flutter of the Annunciation—all these are Antwerp elements and prove that the forms as well as the spirit of the Renaissance were beginning to take hold upon the taste of Lucas. Probably the Berlin Madonna (No. 744) with the cherubs and grapes was painted at the same time and place. It contains portraits of three young children, both they and the cherubs better drawn than the Christ-

Child. It is extraordinary how badly Lucas drew infant Christs. Words need not be wasted over their ugliness, which is hard to explain. His barren marriage may be remembered. The cherubs owe much to Dürer, as a glance reveals. About now or a little later Lucas may have painted the set of pictures in tempera on linen which Van Mander saw in the house of a brewer at Delft. One is in the New York Museum ; copies of two more appear to be at Hampton Court. They depict incidents in the story of Joseph.[1]

The most important work of the artist's later years is the famous Last Judgment triptych now in the Leyden Town Museum, the order for which was placed with him in August 1526. Last Judgments were not well painted by Netherlands artists. The subject was too vast and dramatic for their gifts and style of design. Roger's Beaune picture contains many a fine figure, but it is far from impressive as a whole. His type was followed with no increase of grandeur by his successors. Changes took place in the design with the years, more space and prominence being given to the human figures below and less to the heavenly host. The reader will recall the Dutch versions we have already mentioned— the vault-painting of Alkmaar and two panels by Mostaert. They are not impressive. Bernard van Orley's picture finished about 1525 is a little but not much better. Beets, with justice, claims that it influenced Lucas. At all events, he improved upon his predecessors, though he did not raise the subject to the high plane of drama which alone could justify its treatment. The earth for him is a wide flat expanse out of which the dead arise in scattered groups. There are no hills, streams, trees, or other features to distract the attention from humanity. That was a wise economy. The figures, though not very numerous, are emphatic and become representative. One can imagine the bare expanse indefinitely extended outside the limits of the picture and similar incidents occurring everywhere. The sky is dotted about with individual apparitions. There is no impression of a host, nor of great power. The figure of Christ is unimpressive. Only two trumpeting angels swoop down with any sense of speed and might. If the upper

[1] At Hampton Court is also a St. Sebastian for which a similar claim may be made. See *Burlington Mag.*, December 1910 and January 1911.

part of the painting were blotted out the remainder would be raised in tragic effect. It was, indeed, only that remainder, the figures upon the ground, that kindled the imagination of the artist. All above, except the two trumpeting angels, is perfunctory work. There is nothing perfunctory about the risen, especially in the foreground groups. They are the artist's real subject. The rest is adjunct. They are of necessity an assemblage of nudes, not mere attenuated anatomies constructed according to a mediæval formula as with Roger or Memling, but drawn from actual models, the best available at Leyden. Lucas controlled his observation by memory of Dürer's Adam and Eve and called his inventiveness into full play to avoid monotony of posture under a very strict reserve of decency. These are puritanical nudes, for all their lack of clothes. A female figure on the left is most prominent, studied and finished with elaborate care, but it would be tedious to dwell in words on what was made to appeal directly to the eye. The wing devoted to Hell contains the usual diabolic ineptitudes, and instead of provoking our horror and repulsion enlists our sympathy. The other wing is better, the foreground entirely filled by a small number of finely draped guardian angels and their safely landed charges. I can find in all this no trace of Italian influence. The spirit of the Renaissance is there, but all the forms are of the North, and this is very plain to see when the wings are closed and we behold the two animated saints in a landscape of bay and hills. They are vigorously gesturing, not because they have anything to say or anyone to say it to, but because the spirit of the time asked for activity. The old dignified repose of such figures no longer pleased the public. The world was being turned upside down and everyone wanted to be pushing at it. I suppose that is why St. Peter has such a tousled head. He looks as though he had just emerged from a scrimmage. In Engebrechtsen and Jacob van Oostsanen we noted how, though they introduced some Renaissance forms, the spirit of their work remained essentially Gothic. With Lucas van Leyden it is the other way about. He was from the first quickened by the modern spirit, which expressed itself in all he made, whatever forms he adopted. He did not need to fill his backgrounds with Renaissance buildings of a highly decorated kind to show that he was "in the movement." Such accessories

were immaterial to him. Every figure he drew was essentially of the modern world because he belonged to that world heart and soul, and the mediæval was practically dead within him.

A picture in distemper on linen, which is in the Nuremberg Museum, belongs to the same culminating stage of Lucas' work as a painter. It is dated 1527. The subject, Moses bringing water from the rock, involves the assemblage of many figures before a background of rocky landscape. They are extraordinarily well grouped, and the scattering of light and shade is accomplished with dexterity. As a composition this is perhaps the best surviving picture by our artist. Owing to its fragile nature it has suffered a good deal in four centuries. 1527 was the year in which Lucas, now a rich man as wealth was counted in those days, went off on that festive journey which was to be as disastrous to his health as was Dürer's visit to Zealand to his. Both artists thus laid what was probably a malarious foundation for the sickness of their remaining years. From this time, therefore, we must expect to observe a decline of power. We note the first sign of it in a Virgin and Child of 1528 once in the Kaufmann Collection.[1] The little strutting Hercules with the ugly head, whom we are asked to accept as the infant Christ, is surely some distant cousin of the offspring of Michelangelo. He proclaims the advent at Leyden of an influence definitely Italian. It is a sign of the artist's failing power that the painting is inferior in design to the admirable first idea of it preserved in a drawing in the British Museum. The Child stands on a table, which also carried a plant in a pot—a Flemish convention. A further sign of change in Lucas' ideals is the engraving (B. 138) of Venus dated in this same year. It is inscribed " Venus la tresbelle Deese damours," and the character of the nude is of the sleek sort they were going to admire at Fontainebleau. Now it was that our artist engraved the decorative plates with arabesques and other Renaissance fantasies, a kind of design in which no Northerner of that day was the equal of the Italians. I suspect that contact with Mabuse was largely responsible for this change in Lucas' artistic deviation. Surely the Mars and Venus (B. 137) of 1530

[1] Another half-length Madonna of not much earlier date is in the Schloss Collection, and shows a tendency in the Child's figure toward the muscularly developed forms so prominent in the picture of 1528.

would not have been engraved if Lucas and Mabuse had not met. The stiff straight leg of each of the divinities is notable as an individual touch, a trick of preference manifested in what was perhaps the artist's earliest published work, the Adam and Eve (B. 7), noticed at the beginning of this chapter. It is almost as though he had taken that design in hand and redrawn it as a measure of his advance from boyhood. The attraction of Italy made him study the work of Marcantonio, the third of the trio of great engravers then alive. The unfortunate effect of an ill-judged imitation is seen in the coarse and unattractive series of Virtues (B. 127–133), with which we take leave of his prints. Perhaps he engraved them in the sick bed which Van Mander asserts he seldom quitted during the last six years of his life.

A word in conclusion may be said about two more pictures which belong to this period. The first, at Amsterdam, is of a congregation attending to a preacher—a strangely poor composition for so gifted an artist. They sit or stand half within, half without an impossible and ill-designed building, women seated on the ground in front, men standing behind in a row which too rapidly reduces in scale as it recedes. Some of the heads have character and some may be portraits, but Bock's imagined likeness of one of them to the painter cannot be upheld.[1] Far better, so much better that it may be asked whether the estimated date 1531 may not be too late, is the Healing of the Blind, which is in the Hermitage (No. 167). More than half of each wing has disappeared, but the central panel remains. Here we again have a crowded assemblage gathered into two animated groups, with the active figures in the centre. Michelangelo legs are not too prominent. The story is told in the best Dutch narrative fashion. There is variety in pose and character; the artist's inventiveness is exemplified unimpaired. The landscape background is extensive but disintegrated. It contains good elements of tree, rock, and glade, but ill-combined. Lucas was never a good landscape painter. His interest in men was greater than in nature; here it is upon human actors, their build, their qualities, their emotions and reactions on one another that his interest was concentrated.

Thus self-expressed, self-justified, self-judged we may leave

[1] *Monatshefte f. K.*, iii, p. 90.

him, with the work he was to do accomplished, the high reputation that was to be his attained. In the last few days of his life his first grandchild scrambled into the world the artist was quitting. Shortly before he died, feeling his end near, he had himself carried out of doors that he might once more behold the vault of heaven. Two days later he was dead, being then, as I suppose, a little more than 40 years old. It is hardly just to the record of Lucas van Leyden to assert that he had already reached and fallen back from the highest elevation possible to him, because his years of sickness and physical decline were marked by a diminution of artistic power. On the contrary, it appears that, in or about 1527, his eyes were opened to a new aspect of men and things. It is true that power was lacking to avail himself of the fresh opportunity, so that what he fashioned in this new direction did not rise beyond the level of imitation. In all the rest of his life he had assimilated and recreated and had not baldly imitated the suggestive work of other masters. If, in the last stage, assimilation was incomplete and the fountain of original creation ran low, it was in consequence of failing physical health, not of intellectual and imaginative exhaustion. Cut away the output of these six years and enough remains to exalt his reputation to a high though not, indeed, the highest level, and at least to justify the claim that he was the greatest of Dutch artists of the early period who laid the foundation on which the vast and splendid superstructure of seventeenth century Dutch painting was reared.

CHAPTER XXXII

PETER BRUEGEL [1]

The last artist whose work the reader will be invited here to consider is the great man, the very great man, whose name stands at the head of this chapter. It is a name of repute in the history of art; but the first painter to give it prominence, and far the greatest among upward of a score of his descendants who were painters, has by no means yet received from the general public the high recognition which is his due. He stands at the end, as the Van Eycks at the beginning, of the series of artists who expressed the glory of the Netherlands in the first period of their high civilization, and his is as eminent a figure as that of the founders of the school. He was one of the world's great painters and ranks with the foremost of every age. To think of him merely as a "droll" is to do him injustice. He was master of a broad humanity; he envisaged mankind from the humorous as from the pathetic and many other sides. Had he been born in a city and of the craftsman class he could not have escaped the bondage of tradition and the still worse slavery of fashion at a time when Humanism, a power essentially literary and exotic, was exercising a destructive tyranny over art. All superior persons were then Humanistic and imagined themselves artistic likewise, but nothing in art was ever more dead than Humanistic pictures and designs. They were of necessity born dead. Fortunately for Bruegel and for us, he came of a peasant stock, sturdily independent; to his class and to Mother Nature, from whom her peasant children never stray, he remained loyal all his days. He was inaccessible to scholarship, and remained outside the range and influence of superior persons. Their ideas never penetrated him.

We know nothing of his life beyond what Van Mander records,

[1] The authority on Bruegel is R. van Bastelaer and G. Hulin de Loo's *Peter Bruegel l'Ancien : son Œuvre et son Temps*, Brussels, 1907.

but that little can be relied on, for he probably knew Bruegel's sons, and the information gathered by so industrious a collector of facts must have come directly or indirectly from them. It is true they were but young children when their father died, but their mother who brought them up and who was herself a painter and the daughter of a painter would not blunder over so simple a record. We have to make our conclusions harmonize with Van Mander's statements ; it is not permissible to alter his statements to match our observations.

Peter Bruegel, then, was born in the Brabantine country some time between the years 1525 and 1530. He, or at least his family, must have come from one of the villages named Bruegel. There are two from which the reader may choose: one near Bois-le-Duc in North Brabant, the country of Jerome Bosch ; the other in the Belgian Campine in the Limburg province. It is tempting to accept the former off-hand because of the close dependence of Bruegel's art at a certain period upon the traditions of Bosch. That, however, was not his first period. There is no sign of a Bosch influence in his earliest works. Van Mander says that he became the pupil of Peter Coeck, and so it must have been, though we cannot trace any impression of that artist upon him ; we may count the fact a proof of the sturdiness of his individuality. In Peter Coeck's workshop he acquired the use of his tools and the methods of his craft, beside dandling in his arms the master's little daughter who years later was to become his own wife. Coeck died in 1550 ; Peter did not become a Master in the guild till 1551. He seems to have filled up the interval by working for Jerome Cock, whose brother Mathias was a good landscape painter. We referred to the Cocks in a previous chapter, and to a landscape drawing at Berlin which may be the handiwork of Mathias. One of Bruegel's early landscape drawings bears a marked resemblance to it. I suspect that in Jerome Cock's studio Bruegel first found real help. Cock was an engraver and a great publisher of engravings. When Bruegel was with him landscape engravings were being issued, and it was as a landscape-draughtsman that Bruegel made his début. His debt to the Cocks may therefore have been considerable, but till we know more about them our materials for an estimate are insufficient.

Jerome Cock had only returned from Italy in 1548; perhaps it was his talk that kindled in Bruegel the desire to go there. At any rate, in 1552 he started off on his wanderings through France and over the Alps. Existing drawings enable us to follow his tracks. There is no sign in them of his having paid attention to anything abroad except landscape. It has been suggested that he derived profit from study of the landscapes of Titian; I can perceive no trace of the Titianesque in his work, and can, at most, imagine superficial resemblances to landscapes of the Campagnolas. The most evident deduction from his extant drawings of the years 1552 and 1553 is that Bruegel developed himself upon his own lines and owed little to outside influences either home or foreign. In the face of Nature, it was his endeavour to portray her, as a man would portray the likeness of his mistress. The moment and the point of view were his own choice, the subject was what his eye then beheld. Coming from Antwerp he could but be attracted by wide-spreading or deeply extending vistas, especially such as were beheld from elevated situations. For many years he was captive to the high point of view. Yet his studies present exceptions, and the earliest look upward from a low level. We find him among the foothills on both sides of the Alps, but not in the heart of them. That is our misfortune. Time has robbed us of those truly Alpine studies which were known to Van Mander, whose rudely stated opinion was that in traversing the Alps Bruegel swallowed the mountains and rocks to vomit them forth later upon his canvasses and panels. He went or returned by way of the St. Gothard, for Rubens possessed a picture of that pass by him. A delicate and painstaking drawing at Dresden is of the junction of two mountain rivers just emerged from their defiles. It is almost Alpine, but the plains are near. In another at Berlin we are down among the fertile undulations of a district like the Brianza. A couple of engravings made at Rome in 1553 depict navigable rivers watched by such hills as guard the Rhine. In one or two cases we find careful studies of mountain form like that crest which Dürer drew so truthfully near Lake Garda, but the bulk of Bruegel's sketches in this kind are lost. At Rome, when he drew the Cascade of Tivoli the swirling of the waters so impressed him that he made the rocks swirl in company! Thence he travelled south to Naples

and drew its bay and the straits further south with Reggio on one side and Messina beneath the cone of Etna on the other. The sketches are lost, but recorded by a picture painted from one of them (in the Doria Gallery, phot. Anderson, 5379) and an engraving, dated 1561, of a redrawing of the other. Perhaps then he also made studies of ships, such as those accurately drawn galleys with lateen sails which must always have been commoner in southern than in northern seas; but I suspect that the great and to our vision cumbrous sailing vessels with their high poops, their masts, yards, crow's-nests, cordage, guns, and other fittings, were drawn at leisure beside the Scheldt before and after the Italian journey. In 1565 Frans Huys engraved a set of them from Bruegel's designs. Similar ships are in the Straits engraving of 1561, which depicts a fine sea-fight and is a document of high importance in naval history. They appear again with guns firing in the spirited painting of Naples, itself perhaps, as Friedländer suggests, one of Bruegel's earliest existing works with the brush, or a copy of such.

It has been said that Bruegel must have returned home by way of Tyrol, because of the character of some of the landscapes engraved after drawings made by him on the way. I find no such evidence. The most characteristic view is that in the print entitled *Magdalene pœnitens*, from the insignificant figure of the Saint tucked away in it. We see the road to some important pass quitting a main valley and turning up the gorge of a branch, as the Simplon road branches off at Brieg or the Great St. Bernard at Aosta and at Martigny, but, though this view possesses points in common with both, it does not seem to be identical with either. If an identification I shall propose later on is upheld, Bruegel must have returned by one of these passes, unless he took his way over the St. Gothard and the Furka. He was back home in safety at Antwerp in time to draw an animated skating scene on the canals just outside St. George's Gate of that city. Jerome Cock had it engraved and thus inscribed on its second state: "P. Bruegel delineavit et pinxit ad vivum 1553." This said gateway was then but seven years old, and the citizens were probably proud of it, for it was the latest thing in fashionable architecture, having been built by the Italian Donato Boni Pellezuoli of Bergamo; and the first man to pass through it had been Charles V. Vandals knocked it down in 1866!

It is notable that the only Italian element in Bruegel's design is the gateway. There is not the faintest trace of an Italian element in the figures, which are as Flemish as can be. Nor do they hang on to any other artist's style—as little to Bosch as to another; they are drawn from the life under no previously formed convention. More of them, I think, turn their backs on us than their faces; it is the silhouette that the artist has most seriously striven to catch. There is a touch of rather coarse humour in one group. The whole thing is vital and vivid. It marks the artist's interest as fully satisfied by the world of men and women of his own class. Other sketches made during the next year or two show him studying the villages and country scenery of the Netherlands. None was the work of more than a single sitting, and the few that remain probably represent a larger number that have vanished. As time went on he contracted the width of his views, making them less panoramic and each a more perfect unity, but a close adherence to the thing seen remained the law of his nature-study.

Jerome Cock published a set of thirteen "great landscapes" after Bruegel in or about 1554–5 (twelve to match and one larger), and he was to publish more, but during the years 1556–8 he had other work for his able and, no doubt, already valued assistant. This was to redraw for engraving a number of compositions by Jerome Bosch, whose work was then very popular. We thus reach our artist's second period. It is evident that he found Bosch much to his taste and yielded himself, for the first time and willingly, to the influence of that great master. Where the two came closest they are still far asunder, but there were elements in Bosch that found a ready response in Bruegel, and for a time he not only translated but imitated him. Landscape now took a subordinate place or was wholly absent from his designs, and his attention was bent upon figures. Of Bruegel's redrawings of Bosch's compositions we need say little. They were neatly and cleanly done, and the engravers did their best to copy them line for line. A good example is the Little Fishes Swallowed by the Big, a kind of version of "Big fleas have little fleas upon their back to bite 'em," but it must be confessed that the joke was a trifle ponderous and none too plain. Another, perhaps, was the blind man leading his fellow into a ditch, a design Bruegel was to remember.

If he had only copied the old designs the matter would be of little moment, but he went further; he imbibed a good deal of Bosch's spirit and was attracted to treat similar subjects, such as the illustration of Flemish proverbs, in a broadly humorous fashion. Thus he painted a picture of the operation on a Fool's head to extract the stone, a subject, it will be remembered, illustrated by Bosch. Bruegel's version, dated 1556, was in the von Gerhard Collection at Budapest. "Even the schools of Paris can't make a horse out of an ass" may also be taken as an example of one of Bruegel's early efforts in this kind. The engraving is of 1557, the design perhaps a year earlier, that being the usual sequence where both design and engraving exist and are dated. We are shown the interior of a village school with an ass in the background pondering a sheet of music. The children are a noisy and unruly lot, some in the attitudes of Bosch's devils. Two of them are crouched under a huge hat with a yard of peacock-feather sticking up from it. The composition is rudimentary, a mere huddle of kids, but the whole is entertaining and may well have hit the popular taste in its day. So may the plate of the Pedlar Robbed by Monkeys. "Le Doyen de Renaix" is a version of the Stones of Folly, which Bosch illustrated in a painting, and there are reasons for thinking that Bruegel also painted the original of the print. The Patience engraved in 1557 and the series of Vices then also designed are more elaborately in the manner of Bosch, replete with inventions and ingenuities like his which, for the most part, now leave us cold. They are crowded compositions, lacking unity of any kind, but full of incident which greatly pleased the folk for whom they were made, who, no doubt, bought them "like hot buns." The drawings are more attractive than the rather crude engravings, mostly from the hand of Peter van der Heyden. "Sloth" is one of the best and most Rabelaisian. When we come to the Battle between the Money-boxes and the Safes, the meaning of the humorous allegory is obscure enough, but we find in the composition a decorative hurly-burly which should be pleasing to persons of cubist taste. It would be a brilliant design for an "Omega" table-top. The last composition of this sort we need delay over is the Last Judgment of 1558, like all the rest entirely unconventional. The people in the sky are unimpressive, even

insignificant, but the great streams of human beings below, flowing away in opposite directions, both sorts alike terrified and visibly uncomfortable in their nakedness, form a decidedly novel rendering of a subject that had been hackneyed for a century. These and their companion plates and designs were, however, merely preparatory. They were "pot-boilers" done to the order of Jerome Cock and made to sell. Till this stage of Bruegel's career was over he had not really found himself, but the moment of that great discovery was near at hand.

Two plates, entitled the "Cuisine maigre" and the "Cuisine grasse," both designed in 1558 though not published till 1563, will serve to exemplify the stage of transition. The subjects are allegorical, but the actual scenes are derived from peasant life in the kitchens of farm-houses. Bosch had designed a farm-house festivity in a kitchen, and the drawing was probably known to Bruegel, for Cock published a print of it in 1567. Bruegel's designs were not, like that, direct representations of peasant scenes, but caricatures, the folk in one being abnormally lean, in the other abnormally fat. A painting of three heads in the Copenhagen Museum may have been done about this time or rather later. The fat head is being bitten by one of the lean pair, and the other is ready to attack.[1] They are man and wife and may well have sprung from the *maigre* meal, while the fat man might be the same who is so hurriedly escaping through the door from the repulsive table. Thus, by an easy transition, we reach the folk scenes pure and simple, drawn in this same year 1558, the Rustic Wedding Dance and St. George's Fair, both full of life and evidently created with relish. The latter claims comparison with the Skating Scene of 1553 and shows what considerable progress in draughtsmanship and knowledge of man Bruegel had made in five years. He had kept his eyes open, and stored his memory with the aspects of rough folk in moments of gaiety. He knew how they played, sat, danced, drank, gesticulated. The look of them was as delightful to him as that of angels to Fra Angelico. Such results are not arrived at without taking thought. They involve long and sympathetic observation. Van Mander luckily records that Bruegel about this time had an

[1] A drawing by Thomas Rowlandson, evidently suggested by this picture, was exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in January 1917.

excellent friend at Antwerp, one Hans Frankert of Nuremberg, like-minded with himself. It was a common sport for the two to disguise themselves as peasants and go off to village fairs and weddings, where they offered their gifts, pretending to be distant relations of the bridegroom or bride. Frankert ordered pictures of the artist; the Copenhagen heads might have been done for him.

The Fête of Fools and the Sorceress of Malleghem are plates instinct with the same spirit, caricatures of scenes and personages actually beheld, but the closer Bruegel adhered to life the better was his work and the more universal its appeal. Hence the delight which all will find in the admirable series of studies of individual peasants on some surviving pages of his sketchbooks—the very volumes that must have accompanied him and Frankert on those unconventional expeditions. Examples are to be found in several Continental print-rooms. They manifest the peasant as he actually was, in the clothes he wore with all their ragged edges, their patches, and their practical sufficiency. Indeed, it is the clothes with the bodies inside them much more than the faces that these studies are concerned about, and there are manuscript notes of the colours added in the painter's neat handwriting. Sometimes they are lightly tinted, but generally mere outlines in pen-and-ink, with emphasis on the silhouette and slight indications of fold and modelling. The Albertina possesses a delightful study of a couple of harnessed farm-horses with a pole between them and a carter astride. The harness is treated with great accuracy, and the grouping of horses and man is first-rate. The carter, as so often, turns his back so that there might be no mistake in the record of his cap. If, as Van Mander notes, "it is marvellous to see how well Bruegel understood to clothe his peasants in the fashion of the Campine or elsewhere and to render their attitudes, their bearing, their way of dancing," these sketches may be cited as showing how that capacity was acquired and enriched. Neglect of faces in the costume-studies was supplemented by careful water-colour portraits of characteristic heads, such as a pair on two sides of a leaf at Dresden. Only Hugo van der Goes had so thoroughly entered into the peasant nature, but he also was a great genius.

There is in the Albertina a capital drawing by Bruegel of uncertain date—half-lengths of a bearded painter and a comic spectacled

critic with a long humpy nose and a mouth like a gap for a wedge. If only these two had been our artist and his friend—but that can hardly be. The painter here is old, and Bruegel must still have been young. He was at the earliest margin of his maturity, still probably on the spring side of 30. Unfortunately, we have no likenesses of him worth a rap. There is an engraving by Sadeler after a painted bust-portrait by Spranger, but what could such men have in common with Peasant Bruegel? The frame with its classic genii was what really interested the artist, the oval contained portrait being a mere piece of property. Surely Bruegel's hair was never so well brushed, nor his long beard so tidily trimmed. We have to fall back on Van Mander's written description of him—"a man tranquil and orderly, speaking little yet amusing in company, delighting to horrify people and particularly his pupils with tales of ghosts and banshees." He lived with a servant-maid and would have married her, but she was such an inveterate and incurable liar that he changed his mind, whether for better or worse who can say?

In and after the year 1558 Bruegel devoted himself with increasing steadiness to the painting of pictures; at all events, it is from then onward that his extant pictures date. He may have painted in tempera on canvas in earlier years pictures of which no record has survived. Works in that technique have for the most part perished; a few by Bruegel are known and others suspected from copies. A brilliant fragment at Vienna, of about this date, is all that remains of a tempera painting on canvas. Copies preserve the complete composition. It depicts a riotous crowd of folk, eager for free drinks, piling themselves up over an erection that supports a barrel of wine in process of distribution. Intoxicated individuals fight, dance, or sleep on the outskirts. It is the festival of Martinmas, and the Saint himself rides by in the foreground mounted on a vigorous white steed and duly slashing his cloak asunder. To analyse or describe the mound of struggling drinkers of both sexes would be waste of words, but their variety, their animation, their clever and intricate interlockings are monstrously amusing to look at. Bruegel loved crowds and cataracts of folk. An Adoration of the Magi, likewise in tempera, whereof the Brussels Museum preserves the larger part, was seized as opportunity for

the introduction of a throng and all sorts of background incidents. The picture, beside being abbreviated above and at the sides, is in bad condition, but a copy at Antwerp (No. 847) by the painter's son Peter enables a good idea to be formed of it. Even in a Death of the Virgin the onlookers seem to pour into the room. That picture no longer exists, but an engraving by Philip Galle and at least one painted copy are known (Fétis sale, 1909, No. 11).

Religious subjects, specially those of a mystic sort, were not in Bruegel's line; and we may guess that he never painted them of his own accord. Someone must have commissioned the Resurrection, now lost, whereof there is a copy at Liverpool and a good engraving published by Cock. The interpreter was a new hand and a far better technician than Huys or Van der Heyden, who engraved most of Bruegel's designs. The foreground figures are good, the scene in a rocky enclosure is striking, but the sacred personages constructed according to rule are unconvincing. The same anonymous engraver also produced the plates of the Ten Virgins and the Virtues after Bruegel's designs about this time. The background of the Virgins is so much mere formalism, but down in front are two groups of honest peasant women—the Wise at their spinning-wheels and washing-tubs, the Foolish dancing and bagpiping on the green. The Virtues, as they were to be well engraved, were more elaborately and delicately designed than usual; they possess all the merits, horrors, and humours of incident the artist could give them, but he must have found the work unsatisfactory after his plunge into reality, and I suspect him to have been counting the weeks till he could free himself from the bondage of Cock and his clients.

A kind of half-way house between allegorical compositions and studies of actual peasant life was afforded by illustrations of Flemish proverbs, which he now began to paint. A dozen roundels in the Mayer van den Bergh Collection incorporate each its proverb—a man falling between two stools, another casting roses before swine, a third butting his head against a wall, and so forth. They are dated 1558. Less formal is a more elaborate picture at Berlin, in which various incidents are gathered into a single composition.[1] I do not profess to understand the design

[1] Published with reproduction by Friedländer in the *Zeits. f. b. Kunst*, 1913, pp. 9–12.

called Everyman, even after reading an elaborate explanation of it, but I daresay it meant a lot to Bruegel's contemporaries. It is when we come to such elaborate paintings as the comic fight between Carnival and Lent (1559) or the Children's Games (1560), both at Vienna, that we find Bruegel well established in the kingdom which was thenceforward to be his own. Both overflow with incident as lively and imaginatively veracious as can be. One has houses for background, the other a long street and a view into the country; we are coming back to landscape again and the wonderful fresh air of the real world in which it is so good to live. They tell me that there are about 200 children in the games picture, and that among them every then known game is being played. The other picture contains all kinds of happenings in a town, from a spring-cleaning to a church-service. Anyone would like to live with such pictures. They are brilliant and merry in colour, and full of frolicsomeness and *joie de vivre.*

It was not mere luck that brought into the latter that bit of country background. Bruegel was again seriously working at landscape. Now it was that he redrew the Straits of Messina with the sea-fight, published by Cock in 1561, and made the set of village views, twenty-seven in number, also published in the same year. A pleasing example of such drawings is in New York Museum; it displays the picturesque end of a village, straggling out along the road from well-built gabled houses at one end to tumbledown thatched cottages at the other. Close parallels to this drawing might be cited from Rembrandt. Bruegel also redrew or recomposed some mountain scenes at this time, endowing them with a haze of romance such as memory casts over an admired vision. Romance in the sixteenth century was liable to denaturalize the form of rocks and endow them with an impossible architecture, but geology was unborn, and we must purge our minds of science to see these views as people saw them. Bruegel had begun to fill his skies with features: blazing suns, drifting clouds, darts of light and sacks of shadow, scarves of mist round the necks of peaks and atmosphere enveloping them. I suspect that we may here place the wonderful picture of a Storm at Sea (Vienna, No. 984), in which the strong gale planes off or beats flat the tops of big waves, as one oftener beholds far out in the ocean than near

European shores. The rain drives almost horizontally; sails belly and will presently rip if the squall continues; ships are in visible distress, but the white gulls swoop about. The whale in a trough of the sea is the one false touch, but he is waiting there for Jonah, and without Jonah a storm would hardly have been respectable in paint! A picture, if it was to sell, had to have a name.

A drawing of a Descent into Hades, if its date 1561 be genuine, is a belated composition of the Bosch type, singularly uninspired. I think Bruegel was weary of designing for the engravers, at any rate for the heavy-handed Peter van der Heyden. When he made the Fall of Lucifer a subject for his brush, as in the picture of 1562 at Brussels, he rose to much higher flights. There are all kinds of Bosch *diableries* in this also, but they vanish into the complex pattern of the wonderful whole, which the smiting angels dominate with their wide wings, swirling white draperies, and mighty strokes. The details are no longer separate or separable; they lose their individuality in the general effect, as the cubes in a mosaic. Bruegel was no great student of insects. He made no beetle drawings, such as the Bruges miniaturists affected. But this time he has endowed a strange beast in the middle of his foreground with a pair of brilliantly coloured butterfly wings, and the effect on the whole is immense. They flare out like Roman candles.

His landscape studies begin to affect, and with increasing prominence, the composition of his pictures. The Battle between Jews and Philistines (Vienna, No. 721) is mainly an Alpine landscape with pine-trees on the hillside. The battle is proceeding in a narrow valley or gorge that winds up from the plain; we get the impression of a great multitude struggling together. The Tower of Babel of 1563 (Vienna, No. 715) is less convincing, the folk at work being like ants in the distance. If Bruegel could have seen a New York sky-scraper he would have been better equipped for this class of subject. These, I think, may have been his last extant paintings done at Antwerp, for in this same year (1563) he married Mary, daughter of his late master, Peter Coeck and Maeyken Bessemers, his wife, and it was wisely made one of the conditions of the union that he should leave Antwerp and settle at Brussels

near his mother-in-law. The liar of a housekeeper was forsaken and the old life broken off: no more festive expeditions with Frankert; no more visits to the Antwerp inns, with which Bruegel must surely have been familiar. Henceforward he was to be a good family man, and there were two honest women to look after him and incidentally see that he behaved himself.

A couple of designs for *diableries* connected with St. James and Simon Magus, drawn in 1564, may have been a kind of final offering to Cock. The atmosphere they made our artist breathe led to his painting the Mad Meg, or Dulle Greet, now in the Mayer van den Bergh Collection, and the Triumph of Death in the Prado. They are a final efflorescence of Boschism, and I will not waste words in the vain attempt to interpret them, but they are wonderful works in their way. The figure of that wild woman striding forward with open mouth, sword in hand, a jewel-case, a frying-pan, and I know not what else under the other arm, the mouth of Hell gaping before her and a child hanging on to her skirts behind, is much more than merely astonishing. I wonder whether the mendacious cook was model for her and what mother-in-law Maeyken thought of it all. Perhaps the Critic on the Hearth was not so pleased as friend Frankert would have been, and suggestions were made, perhaps had already been made in the months succeeding the wedding, that it would be more respectable in Brussels to paint some subjects of orthodox character. That, I like to imagine, was the origin of the very correct Adoration of the Magi recently added to the National Gallery. It displays no multitude of onlookers or accompanying caravans, but just the chief actors gathered together in the foreground. The faces betray their creator quickly enough by the emphasis of their expressions, staring as they do with eyes wide opened like dished oysters. The Child shrinks away from the first hoary old king, but the Mother tells him not to mind. It is all well enough, but not the kind of work Peasant Bruegel was cut out for. Some read the date 1563 and others 1564. The latter, at any rate, belongs to the populous Christ bearing the Cross (Vienna, 712), a picture full of the artist's best originality. Casting away the trammels of tradition, he endeavoured to conceive how the event might possibly have happened, as in the neighbourhood of a large town in his own country and time. It might be market-

day, and a number of peasants would be coming in from the villages with their goods for sale; there would be a pedlar by the roadside and other such folk, a human stream flowing in one direction. In the other would go a more numerous crowd of idlers hurrying forth to form a ring round the well-known place of execution and watch the death tragedy of two malefactors and a public character. Some would start early to get good front places; others would be late and would come running from the city. The thieves, blanched with fear, would be in the tumbril drawn by an old horse and accompanied by a few soldiers; Christ bearing His cross would be tottering and falling just behind. Then when He could carry it no further the soldiers would lay hands on the nearest stout peasant and impress him to do the work, but his wife would resist and their goods would fall on the ground—the lamb and other things they were carrying to market. There would be a number of dogs and idle boys about and some important persons on horseback, all which Bruegel knew how to depict—none better. He put Christ a good way off so that you have to look for Him, but the weeping women must also come in, and they were not at all in our painter's line. He brought them up into the foreground, but lost his head over them, painting them on too large a relative scale; in fact, failing with them. Otherwise all is intensely real and conveys the spirit of the event as never before, but with no thought or suggestion of its mystical significance.

After this Bruegel returned to contemporary life and his peasantry again, having, doubtless, found his way among the villages and villagers near Brussels as before near Antwerp. We may be sure that Bruegel was not long in learning of the strange goings-on at Molenbeek-St.-Jean, near Brussels, every St. John's Day, and that he took the very first opportunity of being present. The day, I take it, was December 27, 1564, but there are quite a number of days dedicated to a variety of St. Johns. At all events, the drawing he made shows that it was in the winter, so that we may guess he was at his old peasant-frequenting tricks again some eighteen months after his marriage. Epileptics, it appears, were sacred to St. John. The way to cure them was to take them to Molenbeek on the Saint's day and make them dance around, each forcibly conducted by a pair of friends, and finally

dance over a little bridge or jump the brook, after which they were cured of St. John's sickness for one year. That was a subject after Bruegel's heart, and his drawing in the Albertina is a valuable document. Some of the patients resist, others are tractable; all are as mad as mad can be. A couple of bagpipers help to kindle enthusiasm. One party is just crossing the bridge. A fat woman on the opposite bank sits on the ground—exhausted or cured? The church is faintly outlined behind leafless trees. It reappears, identifiable by its square east-end and other features, in the copy in the Max Grisar Collection of a lost original. The village is now deep under snow and few folk are about except just outside the inn, where a noisy fight of drunken peasants is going on. One has been rescued from the fray by his wife and child, who are conducting him home, she with a good deal to say and the child for object-lesson.

The Bee-keepers whom he drew in 1565 must have pleased him because their faces were hidden behind curious netted masks and their bodies enveloped in long tunics. These later drawings are more delicate and spottily detailed than the drawings of the Antwerp period, the foliage being suggested by a new and better convention than the Cocks could teach him. In 1566 we are back again among landscapes elaborately constructed but on the old Patinir formula as developed by two generations of followers: high ground on the left, a river below coming out of the gorge and winding away to a great distance in a wide level valley. I imagine this drawing made Mr. Roger Fry suggest that the National Gallery river-landscape might be by old Bruegel. More interesting is the landscape-etching dated 1566, Bruegel's one and only known etched plate; it again is constructed on the same principles of design, but, for a great wonder, instead of a penitent Magdalen or Jerome in the foreground to give it respectability, here are sportsmen trying to shoot rabbits with a crossbow, which may have been very good sport. Just so have many of us in our youth hidden up behind a bush near some warren to pot rabbits through the head with a pea-rifle.

It would be interesting to learn whether the winter of 1565–6 was very cold and snowy. An admirable snow-scene in a Brabantine village, peopled to make it illustrate the Numbering of the Folk

at Bethlehem, bears that date, while two others, a Massacre of the Innocents and an honest village skating-scene pretending to no religious significance, are obviously about contemporary.[1] The Brussels picture is just a village folk-scene with people crowding round the windows of an inn where the census officials are at work. In the foreground a man leads an ass on which his wife is mounted, and you can guess by the way she is enveloped in a great cloak that she is keeping her baby warm within it. The ox of the Nativity is also going along, and there can be no doubt but that these figures are the Holy Family starting forth for their Flight into Egypt. All this, however, is of little account. What the eyes rest on is the village in its glorious mantle of snow with the children sliding, snowballing, top-spinning, the men at their winter toil, and all the incidents proper to the season, but subordinated to the village unity as ants to an ant-heap. Even more beautiful in its winter gloom is the Massacre of the Innocents, but full of horrid cruelty and pathos, such as Belgium has suffered from a brutal soldiery again and yet again in the tried and glorious history of her provinces.[2]

Here may best be inserted, as a group of works begun at least by 1567, the four admirable pictures of months—all that were painted or that survive of a probable projected dozen.[3] In each the spectator stands on high ground and overlooks extensive stretches of country, with the usual winding river in three of them and the usual mountains shutting it in. The first depicts a stormy day in early winter (called January). Woodsmen are busy chopping in the foreground on the low elevation of our standing place. We look down upon the roofs of their village and away off through a tracery of bare branches to the hills that border the winding and turbulent river. There is snow on the highest levels and a rock point juts out of it, like the Dent de Jaman—in fact, they are hills of the kind that rise from the Lake of Geneva. A heavy wind-rent sky darkens the scene, but there is light behind the hills,

[1] They are at Brussels (No. 680), Vienna (No. 710), and in the Doria Gallery respectively, the last only a copy by Peter II Bruegel, the original having disappeared.

[2] A picture dated 1566, representing John Baptist preaching, is recorded by Friedländer as in Count Batthiány's Collection at Csàkány, Hungary.

[3] January, February, and Autumn (September ?) are at Vienna (Nos. 711, 713, and 709); June belongs to Prince Lobkowitz at Raudnitz Castle.

and the effect is altogether truthful; it is an "effect" gathered from nature, not a mere geographical transcript. We must go back to Hubert van Eyck for a parallel. The notion of trying to render an "effect" had, indeed, occurred to Bouts, but he failed in the attempt. Bruegel succeeded. Thus, again, is it with the superb "Hunters in the Snow," supposed to illustrate February, in all respects Bruegel's finest landscape. It also is very Swiss. The cliff faces of the buttressing hills on the right and the foreshortening which brings them into the semblance of jutting peaks are admirable. All who know the lower Alpine valleys will find themselves here amid familiar surroundings. The river empties into a lake, and there is a village on a far-away promontory, and in the midst of it a church spire of Swiss type. It is Villeneuve; we are looking down the last stretch of the Rhone Valley to the head of the Lake of Geneva. There is a smaller village at our feet, for we stand on the lower slopes of the wide valley's left bank, and two splendid skating-rinks are swept clear beside it. They would not disgrace Mürren to-day. Hunters and their dogs, dark silhouettes against the snow, are in our immediate foreground. Such are some of the details, or rather factors, composing the scene—for they are factors, necessary and indissoluble parts of the whole, which exists not by their assemblage but by their structural and emotional union. They form together one thing seen, and seen through a mood of an individual mind. The austerity, the latent power beneath this stillness, the beauty, the utter harmony of winter is here, not the lone horrors of some abandoned arctic region where nature has herself to herself, but winter in its relation to man, to which man has adjusted himself with his warmly thatched houses, his thick clothing, his winter labours and winter sports—a marvellous picture, indeed, and the opening of a new and wonderful chapter in the history of art. Compare it with the February page in the Hours of the Duke of Berry, where the snow is excellently painted; the enormous difference in the grasp of the subject as a whole will be immediately apparent. That is an assemblage of details juxtaposed, this an organic unity conceived and executed in all its parts under the governance of a single idea.

The remaining pair of landscapes give rise to similar reflexions, but are less convincing in their treatment of the structure of

surroundings. The Autumn picture shows the return of the cattle from their summer pastures, an important annual incident in the life of a mountain village. The haymaking scene that stands for June brings us down to lower regions and has no Swiss character, but neither of these pictures reminds us of any definite district, both landscapes being comparatively artificial in structure. Were it not for the date 1567 which appears to be clearly marked upon the Conversion of St. Paul (Vienna, No. 714), we should have grouped it alongside of the Battle of Jews and Philistines, and it may be used as proof that the four Months were not begun until that picture had been finished, but the same argument would apply to the village snow-scenes of 1566. The St. Paul would certainly find itself in more suitable company in 1563–4 than down here in 1567 ; perhaps it was laid aside for a few years and only finished when it was dated, or has the last figure of the date been tampered with ?

A picture from the Seymour-Trower Collection, recently sold at Sotheby's (July, 1921 ; No. 243), dates from this period of Bruegel's activity. It depicts the father of a family in a condition of unstable equilibrium conducted and supported from an ale-house by his wife and eldest son. The youngest, carrying a hobby-horse, hangs on to his mother's spare hand. The main group is large in the foreground and brilliantly coloured. The ale-house door is some distance away, and two revellers are taking a final pull at a large jug, while another stalwart wife is dragging one of them off. Pathos and humour unite in this picture, which is a characteristic example of Bruegel's best work in this kind.

The Land of Cockaigne (Abundance) now in the Munich Gallery opens the last stage in the development of Bruegel's art. With a single exception there are to be no more landscapes embracing vast distances, no more multitudes of folk scattered abroad over fields and villages ; henceforward the interest is to be concentrated on a few prominent figures in the foreground, and they are to be studied with a detailed intensity not called for before. The first of the series is least characteristic or attractive, for the good reason that it is least spontaneous. It is of a kind with the proverb-illustrations, a thing constructed, not beheld. The fat peasants lying on the ground in gorged content, the roast pig running about carrying the

knife to carve him with, and the like conceits, may have given a moment's amusement to contemporary spectators, but such a subject was insufficient to afford Bruegel's mature powers a worthy opportunity or to unlock the rich stores of his accumulated observation. A print (dated 1568) of a young peasant being shoved into a pigsty was probably designed about the same time. We pass gladly from both to the Wedding Feast (No. 717) and Peasant Dance (No. 719) at Vienna, in which Bruegel's comprehension of peasant life as a subject for pictorial treatment attains fullest expression. One is an interior, the other an open-air scene; both overflow with like merits. There are just enough people in the backgrounds to suggest a goodly throng and the share of the whole village in common festivity, but our interest is held by those in front, the feasters, pipers, and dancers, realized by Bruegel for all the worth of the humanity that is in them. The types are varied enough, but it is the expressions that prevail, the expressions not of countenance merely but of the whole figure. These vitalize the pictures. Observe the posture of the bagpiper at the banquet—how his feet are placed and his knees protrude, and how he watches what is going on with slow, unintelligent observance. It is the same with everyone; they are occupied with their food, their task, or one another. There are actions and reactions throughout, characteristic, energetic, human. Life itself could not more truly live. Verily Bruegel has come into his kingdom.

The legless Beggars of the Louvre is perhaps his masterpiece in this kind. They are howling for alms to the passer-by, and making the worst of their deformities. Just such howling unfortunates have I seen outside the Cathedral of Rio de Janeiro; they were common all over Europe in Bruegel's day. How admirably they are beheld, without sentimentality but with a rich understanding which descried even in these wrecks the traces of human worth! How marvellously they are composed into a group, like so many grapes on a bunch in mutual adjustment of place and pose! We feel their movement, and yet it is arrested. No need for any landscape background to them; a few walls suffice for frames. The costumes are half fantastic; one wears a mitre and has tails sewn on to his vestment, a dimly echoed bishop; another has a battlemented hat, and so forth: clothes, faces, wooden limbs,

and all the rest, work of creative fancy if you please, but based on a knowledge of life and its significance which few artists have rivalled. We may obviously group with this as painted in a like mood the Naples picture (dated 1563) of the Blind leading the Blind. The first pair, fallen or falling into a ditch, derive from a design by Bosch; the four followers who hook on to them in a pathetic chain are Bruegel's addition. The poor things with their strange garments, their uncertain steps, their varied kinds of blindness, their dependence each on his leader, exact our interest as much as our pity. There is the experience of an unhappy life written on every countenance. It was not Bruegel's first attempt to picture the blind. Their aspect had been forced on him in his Antwerp days when he had Bosch's design to redraw. Again, in 1562 he made a design of his own (at Berlin) depicting a couple of blind men, or may be only one, walking along a road. There is another drawing in the British Museum of three pilgrims, but that may be a copy, and I feel no assurance that the men are blind; it is only evident that they are asking for alms. The lost picture of a group of fighting peasants, known to us by copies more or less accurate, one of them by Rubens, must also have been painted about this time. It gave Bruegel an opportunity to depict expression forced to its highest point yet within the limit of life. No need to caricature or exaggerate, but only to realize. Copies enable us to apprehend the vigour of the conception and the skill of the composition; but the best of them—for Rubens' is only a sketch—can but give a dim vision of the picture itself, on which Bruegel evidently lavished his maturist skill.

Our artist was never more prolific nor fuller of inventive imagination than at this time. Did he feel that his end was not far off, and was he impatient to bear all the fruit possible in his brief and early autumnal days? A group of three pictures are united by their common possession of landscape backgrounds derived from the bare expanses of the Campine, the district from which Bruegel may have sprung. It seems, at least, probable that he visited it at this time. The first is again known to us only by copies and links itself with the fighting Peasants. It shows a village couple who have come over the waste that stretches away to the skyline, marked only by the grooves of the track that leads from village

to village. They have entered the edge of a wood and three highwaymen have pounced on them, and they must surrender their poor little goods and who knows what else to the robbers. Resistance is useless; terror overwhelms them—the story could not be better told. The next two pictures take us back to allegory once more. "I go mourning because the World is so false" is the motto of a roundel at Naples. A single figure dominates this scene, and he is enveloped in a dark cloak and hood; the lower part of his face and some of his fingers alone emerge from the hull of drapery, and that is of the simplest form, yet the character of the Misanthrope is fully expressed with much economy of means. The allegory is completed by another figure enclosed within a globe and meaning what you please; one hardly notices it. The black-robed man holds all one's attention and rewards it.

Mr. J. G. Johnson's "The Hireling fleeth" is a no less admirable composition, again reduced to a single figure. Bare level country stretches from him on all sides; away off in one direction is a wood and far behind is a village or farmstead—no shelter to be had in any of these, and the wolf pouncing on the flock and already disembowelling a sheep. Go for him, you fat, well-fed coward! But the lazy fellow, for once kindled into an unwonted activity, runs terrified away, and the wolf may take his fill for all he cares—an admirably designed figure and the composition generally not compassable by any that ever lived save Bruegel. With these we are compelled to group the Nest-robbers (Vienna, No. 718),[1] likewise practically a single-figure piece, for the boy in the tree hardly counts. I imagine the landscape to belong to the same district as the rest, but to a lower-lying or rather less barren part of it, for there are trees about and a great barn-homestead in the background. All this is mere frame to the stout and healthy peasant who stands just on the far side of a stream which divides him from us, but not too far for his words to reach us easily. The meaning of the picture is immaterial, nor do we care much what the fellow has to say. The proverb in the background is of no account. The picture appeals directly, as it was intended to appeal, to the eye, and like music fills the heart with delight.

[1] Hulin mentions a design for it in the Uffizi dated 1560 or 1564, but the painting can hardly be of any other year than 1568.



1. LUCAS VAN LEYDEN. COLL. RYERSON.—p. 471.



2. PETER BRUEGEL. THE RHONE VALLEY IN WINTER. VIENNA GALLERY.—p. 502.



3. PETER BRUEGEL. COLL. SEYMOUR-TROWER.—p. 503.



PETER BRUEGEL. THE HIRELING SHEPHERD. PHILADELPHIA.—p. 506.

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A picture at Darmstadt also belongs to this year 1568 ; it is of different character from the foregoing and returns to the type of comprehensive landscape. We are looking from a height along a wide, flat valley trending west into a misty brilliance and bordered by mountains, the valley, perhaps, of the Rhone, bosky like that in its rougher parts, and with a castle (Valère ?) on a protruding crag above a town. This vista is framed in by foliage of tall trees quite near at hand, and right in front in the middle is a gallows with a magpie perched upon its beam—such a tiny detail to give its name to the whole. Peasants are dancing beneath it, and the ground drops away through a wood to the town below. When Bruegel died he bequeathed this picture to his wife. It is called the Magpie on the Gibbet. Van Mander says that the bird was emblematic of a chattering tongue which the painter hereby devoted to damnation. The bequest can hardly be considered complimentary to the legatee.

The year 1569 yields only three unimportant works, parts of incompleted undertakings. A pair of prints illustrative of Spring and Summer were evidently an instalment of an intended Four Seasons, commissioned by Cock. The emphasis given to the large figures in the foreground agrees with Bruegel's later habit. The third is connected with a larger project. Van Mander relates how the Brussels authorities, who, in 1561, had finished cutting a canal to give access from their city to the Scheldt, commissioned Bruegel to make a record of their undertaking. What form this was to take we cannot say, but it was left incomplete when he died. A single extant drawing now at Chatsworth is its sole representative. It is a careful washed pen-and-ink study of a dredger, an object rather of interest than beauty. The drawing is undated, but must belong to the artist's latest period.

How Bruegel came to die so prematurely we know not. His last pictures prove that his development was still progressing. He can scarcely have been more than 40 years of age and cannot be assumed to have done the best work of which he was capable. His whole active career only covered seventeen years ; so original an artist needed time to discover his true bent, and to elaborate the new forms and methods necessary for the expression of novel ideals. In art he practically stood alone. He was not, of course, the

only painter of peasant-life of his day. There was Peter Aertsen besides, and there were others, but distant from him by how long an interval! They were recorders of the dull fact, but in him the life of the folk stirred as it did in Burns. He saw them in the magic mirror of his mind and transfused their images with his own spirit of romance. He stands as much alone in the mid-sixteenth century as the Van Eycks at the beginning of the fifteenth, giants all three, opening and closing the long procession of lesser men who connected them. Those who have once felt the power of Bruegel must turn away from him with regret. Lesser men tire us, but the greatest are never tiresome, and he was of that company.

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